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ABSTRACT

This dissertation suggests that the role of social studies teachers should be to introduce new alternatives, values, and ways of thinking in civic education. One thousand three hundred seventy elementary teachers responded to a questionnaire on: 1) background; 2) liberal-conservative attitude; 3) degree of political and professional activity; 4) risk; 5) permissiveness toward political controversy in the classroom; 6) undergraduate role and activism on campus. Analysis of data shows that although most teachers place themselves as liberals on a scale, and participate in educational and local politics, the majority are not willing to engage in discussion of conflict and introduce political reality into the classroom. Instead, old models of civic education are implemented in the classroom. Teachers actively involved in campus politics as undergraduates, however, introduce political controversy into their classroom. In conclusion, schools tend to play a conservative role in the political socialization process, not adequately preparing students to deal with political problems or function in modern society. Teacher education must develop social science teachers who are skilled practitioners in the art of politics, who will feel secure in handling analysis of the problems of the modern society, and who play the role of change agent. (Author/SJM)

ED 064209

THE ROLE OF THE ELEMENTARY TEACHER IN THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

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The Role of the Elementary School Teacher in the Political Socialization Process

By

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DISSERTATION

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The Role of the Elementary School Teacher in the Political Socialization Process

Abstract

Virginia Thompson Franklin

This study analyzes the role of the elementary teacher in the political socialization process. A random sample of 1370 elementary teachers in the public schools of California was selected from all of the elementary schools containing grades one through six. Teachers responded to a questionnaire which ascertained their degree of political activity in the community and in professional organizations. Particular emphasis was placed upon the teacher's responses as to the kinds of risks he would be willing to take in matters of direct concern to the teaching profession and to the kinds of activities in his classroom which dealt with matters of political reality rather than ideology. Additional questions deal with the teacher's role perception as to his responsibility in citizenship training, and to his attitude toward basic concepts of classic conservatism in a validated liberal-conservative scale. A survey was made of the teacher's educational background and his role in and knowledge of student unrest on the campus of his undergraduate and graduate school.

Most teachers placed themselves as liberals on the liberal-conservative scale. Although they were willing

to take greater part in educational politics within the district and politics within the community, they were not willing to engage in discussion of conflict and political reality in the classroom.

The teacher who engaged in political activity while on campus or who was involved in student movements on the campus of his graduate institution is still more active in political activity than those teachers who did not participate or who knew little about student unrest. The relationship of this fact to the kinds of activities carried on in the classroom indicated that such teachers are more likely to discuss and to use materials on matters of political controversy.

The size of the school district appears to affect the amount of political discussion, a larger district being more conducive to discussion of controversial matters. Most teachers still agree that harmony and political compromise are fundamental values, and that harmony of community interests should be stressed rather than group conflict. The elementary teacher still places emphasis in civic education on the teaching of the rights, duties and obligations of citizens. How a citizen actually functions in our society is seldom taught in the elementary curriculum. Rather, emphasis is on socializing the student to the present system, which implies that the schools play a conservative role in the political socialization process. It is a conclusion of this study that such a role is not sufficient to enable the student to deal with the problems of the modern society. For this reason, teacher education institutions must prepare teachers of the social sciences who are aware of the problems created by a pluralistic society and who recognize the realities of the political system. This study has shown such teachers participate more actively in community and school affairs and are more willing to discuss controversial issues in the classroom than those teachers who do not feel secure in discussing issues which require value judgments being made and conflicting opinions being heard.

Support for curriculum development which will include the teaching of public issues in the elementary classroom must come from parents, legislators and taxpayers. Such a curriculum will enhance an awareness on the part of the students to the responsibilities which they face as future voters. It is the hope of most political scientists that a curriculum based upon political reality will lessen student alienation and apathy. In this study the findings show that the teacher does not play the role of change agent. However, it is the conclusion of this study that he must.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The advent of the eighteen-year-old vote has flooded our literature with speculation as to how the young will affect the political power structure and speculation as to the role of the public school in value determination for the young. There is evident an inherent relationship between the schools and public policy, but the question is whether the role of the school is to socialize the young to our present political norms, or to go further and introduce the young to new ways of thinking, possibly to new alternatives and values. The implications of such a role have been the topic of philosophers from Plato to Dewey to such innovators as A. S. Neill and Neil Postman,[1] including Carl Rogers and the behaviorists.

In increasing numbers, political scientists have turned to the process of political socialization, attested to by the wealth of literature dealing with the power elites and the voting behavior of the members of society. The systems approach to analysis of the political process has given us new dimensions of the meaning of political socialization. According to a common definition, political socialization refers to an individual's adaptation to society's political system and includes the study of the norms and attitudes, behavior and practices which allow an individual to become a functioning member of society. Continuity of the system is stressed rather than disfunction.[2]

Need for this Study

Recently political scientists and educators have become increasingly concerned with change. The awareness of rapid change has resulted in recognition that it is not sufficient to teach mere indoctrination to a system, rather an individual must learn to prepare for and adapt to change. A political system is considered stable when most members of a society can accept the decisions of its policy makers most of the time. However, it is obvious to most of us that we are living in a time when instability may well be the order of the day. Thus system change becomes as important as system maintenance.

The implications of this statement for the public schools are enormous, involving many issues and problems inherent in a pluralistic society, such as academic freedom, concern about "dangerous innovation," students being exposed to new ideas, and teachers with values different than those of parents. If the school is to represent the society, then it must function as a microcosm of that society. That society does not have a monolithic system of beliefs. Our task then is to educate for acceptance of diversity and change, for understanding conflict between minority and majority rights. Although consensus and harmony may result from compromise within the system, disillusionment resulting from the inability to discover such harmony is more evident today.

Thus it will be a major thesis of this study that the role of the elementary school will be education for stability within the democratic system, while considering alternatives which lend themselves to system change as well as system maintenance. Such an educational function must prepare the student for committed action, not alienation, which is not often the concern of the public school. Ironically, educators talk of voting and participation in the political and social processes as desirable, but our school system silently perpetuates apathy. Teachers who discuss controversial issues in class are apologetic should they by chance show their own feelings, thus conveying to students the idea that personal commitment may be dangerous, if not evil. Elementary students are considered too young for exposure to political and social problems, and parents believe their children are too immature to handle ideas inimical to those perpetuated in the home. Thus the schools have become a "pipeline for deadening dogma" rather than a forum for discussion and ideas. Such indoctrination is not valid in a pluralistic society.

Rationale for the Study

Recent research on how individuals become politicized emphasizes that the political man is made, not born. The basic foundations of such maturation include political loyalties and attachments, specific knowledge and feelings toward political institutions, and an acquisition of transient views toward specific policies and personalities and events. As the individual has social experiences that lead him into the world of politics, he acquires part of his political awareness through a developmental process. Children often pick up values passively rather than by initiating their own socialization. Much of a child's political world has begun to take shape before he enters school, but the most rapid change in his political socialization takes place during the elementary school years.[3] For this reason, special emphasis must be placed upon the political world of the elementary school teacher, who, either through direct or indirect means, will affect the student through curriculum, specific citizenship training and his own values and attitudes.

The teacher represents to the child an authoritative spokesman for society, an institutional pattern, a person whom the student should obey. The teacher is expected to be a model of behavior and a disseminator of social values acceptable in society. Teachers are products of the same political socialization process for which they are agents. A lack of congruity between what the teacher does and what he says can lead to later alienation of the student and to his distrust of the political system. Preferably, a teacher should be aware of his own incongruity and discuss it with his students rather than to pretend to be the model of a system which does not actually exist.

An individual in today's world is an individual involved in the process of change. He is continually learning. If he is to meet constructively the challenges of a world in which problems appear faster than answers, he must learn to live comfortably with change. Facing the new might be more important than being able to repeat the old. Carl Rogers expresses the assumption that "The most socially useful learning in the modern world is the learning of the process of learning, a continuing openess to experience, an incorporation into oneself of the process of change."[4]

An individual facing new changes must of necessity make value determinations. Such a process requires that a person be aware of his own values and commitments. It is the contention of most modern educators that the problem-solving, inquiry method is most suitable for such an analysis. Rote-learning and the teacher centered classroom have proved to be ineffectual in producing creative thinking and a comfortable adaptation to change.

In order for such learning to take place, the student must be the self-initiator and the teacher the facilitator. The teacher must relinquish his traditional role of authority in the classroom and become the sensitive, sympathetic and enthusiastic helper. The teacher and the student are involved in inquiry, with the resources of the community made available to the learning process. Students must learn to be responsible for and take the consequences of their own decisions and actions, thus setting a pattern for the role they will play in their own community. This will be the pattern for new civic education instruction in the schools, and teacher preparing institutions must be responsible for giving teachers the experiences needed to become facilitators of learning.

Before one can expect to institute change he must look at what exists. It is the purpose of this investigation to look at the elementary school teacher and discover what he perceives to be his role in civic training, to ascertain his feelings as to the possibility of change, to discover what kinds of risks he will take and, most important, to determine what specific classroom activities he will or will not do.

Summary

In order to do this, questions were formulated, based upon Edgar Litt's analysis of three modes of citizenship training.[5] Teachers were asked to respond to what they considered to be the primary objectives of the teaching of citizenship. Direct questions were asked of all teachers surveyed as to their political participation in the community and in professional organizations as well as their orientation to politics while on the campus of their choice, both in graduate and undergraduate schools. Analysis of variance between ages, types of graduate institutions and years of teaching experience were made with the amount of political activity indicated by the teacher. An attempt will be made to discover if any pattern exists for promoting political activity of the teacher.

To determine whether a teacher who considers himself conservative, as opposed to one who considers himself liberal, actually is such on a liberal-conservative scale, a series of questions were asked to place teachers on a scale which measured classic conservatism. Results from this determination will be analyzed in comparison with what the teachers indicated they do in the classroom, and in education and community politics. A high level of significance, if found in this analysis, might indicate to the school administrators which teachers may be better qualified to deal with change, and may indicate as well the direction for teacher preparation.

The next chapter will deal with what we know about the role of the teacher in the political socialization process. The following chapters will deal with the methodology and findings of this study, and the concluding chapter will discuss specific curriculum recommendations for teacher education.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

[1] A. S. Neill, Summerhill, A Radical Approach to Child Rearing (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1960); Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

[2] Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (September 1965), pp. 1-9.

[3] Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 114.

[4] Carl Rogers, "The Facilitation of Significant Learning," Contemporary Theories of Instruction, ed. Laurence Siegel (Chandler Publishing Company, 1969), p. 10.

[5] Edgar Litt, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 311 (September 1965), pp. 32-39.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Theoretical Background

Although the specific term, political socialization, is fairly new to the field of political science, the connotation is not. In Plato's Republic much stress is placed upon the importance of early civic training as a means of maintaining loyalty to the established power. As long as diverse ideologies have existed, political theorists have raised questions regarding political training and indoctrination of the masses.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 caused economic theorists to begin to relate more directly the economic and political aspects of the conflict between individualism and the state. Most writers in the social studies area felt that indoctrination of the masses to gain support for the state was the antithesis of a free and open society, yet indoctrination for democracy was not an evil. In the early 1920's the University of Chicago sponsored a ten-year study in civic education and brought forth the famous "green box" and "brown box"[1] which package was expected to perform the miracle of teaching students of government the duties and responsibilities of the "good" citizen. The 1940's, of necessity, brought forth a large group of political theorists who concerned themselves with academic freedom and indoctrination, totalitarianism and the open society. There was little, if any doubt in American schools during this period that the only good society was the democratic society and the evil society was the fascist society epitomized by Hitler's Germany. During the 1950's McCarthy and his followers were responsible for silencing much of the academic community; political indoctrination against socialism and the Soviet Union was common in American classrooms.

Data Based Research

During the late 1950's social scientists in this country studied voting behavior with particular reference to economic and sociological conditions of the country. The study of voting behavior could not be separated from a person's economic condition and social environment, thus necessitating inter-disciplinary studies. It became increasingly apparent that students of political socialization must rely upon other behavioral disciplines in order to study the field of general socialization.[2]

The School and the Child

Of more direct impact on the present study are books which deal with the way in which children learn about and perceive politics. Because these studies have led directly to a further investigation of the teacher's role, it is imperative that the contribution of these authors be noted for some of their main findings.

Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney published The Development of Political Attitudes in Children[3] in 1967 and studied elementary students specifically. Hess categorized the specific classroom learning which politicizes the child into four main parts: (1) the development of beliefs and knowledge about the political system; (2) the knowledge and belief about the political process and structure as the child knows it; (3) the child's emotions and feelings which surround political issues; and (4) the development of assumptions as children's viewpoints are elaborated upon. The findings from the Hess and Torney study and other major studies in the development of children's attitudes constitute the remainder of this chapter.

Approximately 12,000 children in elementary grades two through eight were selected for testing in one large city and one small city of each major region in the United States. These children, approximately 1500 from each city, answered an hour-long questionnaire during 1961-62. The children's teacher answered a similar questionnaire, but one which described curriculum practices. The questionnaires given to second and third grades were shorter. From this study political scientists gained a clearer view of the developmental pattern of political socialization.

The Survey Research Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan, conducted two high school studies, one by Langton and Jennings in 1965[4] and the other by Jennings and Niemi in 1968.[5] Nearly 1700 students as well as teachers and parents and school officials were interviewed. The focus of this study was directly upon high school, but it bore important relationships to civic training in elementary school. Greenstein,[6] in 1965, studied presidential images of New Haven school children which increased the knowledge of specific developmental patterns in the area of politics. Easton and Dennis[7] of Chicago studied the Hess and Torney data and then used it for an analysis to show that schools support the political system. These major studies have importance for the teacher of the elementary child in the area of civic training and competence.

Major Findings of Hess and Torney

Hess and Torney found that the child develops an early attachment to the nation, an attachment which undergoes little change in the elementary school. The terms "democracy" and "America" are closely associated, but not cognitively understood. The child sees communism as a threat to America and rated it one of the most important problems facing our country. The specific ideology of communism and the difference between our political system and a communist system is not perceived.

The feeling that the child has about his country may be linked to his feeling of dependence upon his family and may stem from early childhood feelings about this family. School lends a positive support to the child's attachment which is represented by the symbols of the flag and the Statue of Liberty. Even a second grade child in school is able to differentiate between the symbols as to what stands for government and what stands for his country. As children become older, their concepts of nationalism depend less on concrete symbols and more on word symbols and abstractions. The United States is not seen clearly as part of an international system until the later grades. It is the belief of Hess and Torney that children in the earlier grades have an unrealized capability to deal with the diversity existing in other cultures without placing value judgments.

Young children view political systems as though they consisted of one or two persons; a personal relationship is formed in the child's mind. Children also attribute qualities of goodness and kindness to the authority figures in their government. As children grow older their perceptions change, and the older children view the president in a more impersonal manner. Older children are also able to deal with competence needed for the office of the President as well as personal characteristics which might be desirable.

Young children do not view the Supreme Court as a source of personal protection as they do the President. The older child begins to perceive the importance of the function of the individual rather than the name of a specific politician; this distinction is important in maintaining the system. The importance of the President as conceptualized by the child is not determined primarily by classroom learning, but by other factors which he perceives via the mass media. Part of his reaction to the presidency is his reaction to authority as learned at home and in school.

The Curriculum in the Political Socialization Process

Children's perceptions and feelings about dealing with bureacracy are viewed by Hess and Torney as developing through an awareness of loyalty and obedience. In their study young children saw a good citizen as one "whose house is clean and polite."[8] Obeying laws and giving support to visible authority figures is an important phase of the elementary child's political socialization. What the child learns about appropriate roles in his home and in school is eventually incorporated into social systems, among these the political system. For this reason, Hess and Torney believe the school to be the most important agent of political socialization.

The Teacher's Role in Political Socialization

In the following table from the Hess and Torney study, the teacher's role in the political socialization process is explained. The teacher in the primary grade places the greatest stress on duties of the citizen; he believes that his major task is "to socialize children into obedience; this stress continues throughout the elementary school years."[9] The stress is laid upon the ideals of democracy, not the realities, thus fostering development of trust in the government.

The child perceives his role in democracy as a voting member to be very significant; pressure groups and power elites are not known to him, a fact partly due to the level of cognitive learning reached by the child. The teacher, however, has this information but does not impart it.[10] Whereas teachers and students were much alike in their beliefs about the ideal situation regarding participation in democracy, they differed in their view of realities and in their interests in political issues. This fact led Hess and Torney to believe that the socialization which occurs in the elementary school is primarily concerned with the acceptance of beliefs about how a citizen should act and with the development of positive feelings toward the country and the persons representing authority to the student. Facts about the realities of politics and an analysis of political issues are considered only slightly and very simplistically in the elementary school. Hess and Torney felt that the dichotomy between idealism and reality might create disillusionment in the child which could be more destructive than if he had had a rudimentary and more balanced picture of the

TABLE 1*

TEACHERS'S DESCRIPTION OF CURRICULUM BY GRADE TAUGHT

(Percentage of Teachers of Grades 2 through 6 who Reported Spending More than Three Hours of Class Per Year on Each of the Following Sub-Topics in Social Studies)

		TOPICS								
		Citizen Role			Branches of Government			International Organization	More Controversial Issues	
Grade Taught	N	Duties of Citizen (e.g., to obey law)	Rights of Citizen (e.g., to express opinion)	Citizen's Power to Influence Government	President	Congress	Supreme Court	United Nations	Political Parties	Politicians
2	24	45.8	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3-4	34	44.1	20.6	6.5	8.8	0.0	0.0	9.1	3.0	0.0
5-6	40	61.5	28.2	12.5	28.2	17.5	17.9	37.5	15.4	7.7
7-8	23	59.1	60.9	26.1	65.2	65.2	60.9	43.5	43.5	17.4

Note: Teachers reported number of hours spent on each topic.

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* This Table is Table 3, p. 22, of the Torney and Hess manuscript.

realities of political life. A broader consideration of the diversity of opinions on public issues will perhaps transfer over to adult citizenship and better prepare him for value determination.

Children and Partisan Views

Children see voting as the only way to influence the government; other methods of persuasion do not occur to them. They are confused when they discover that they cannot influence the government alone. They do not understand that most political decisions are frequently made without resolving all of the conflicting views. They do not see the political party as a mobilizer of conflict.

A significant fact discovered by Hess and Torney was that as children progressed through the elementary grades, they developed less partisan commitment; teachers have a similar view. They vote for the man, not the party. This may suggest that teachers may be giving political parties a lesser role than they deserve in evaluating the efficacy of the political process. Eighth grade children assert their independence about voting the straight party ticket and at the same time discount the effectiveness of the party in the political process.[11]

In his study made in 1965, Greenstein found out that only half of the eighth graders he interviewed could suggest a single difference between the two parties.[12] In another study, Jennings and Niemi concluded that the meaning of partisan support becomes more meaningful in the high school years.[13] Hess and Torney clarify the reasons for this problem in the following way:

> Teachers impress upon children that good citizens consider candidate qualifications above partisan orientations (though teachers themselves are somewhat reticent to discuss the candidate qualifications related to their own choices.) This may be another situation where the agents of socialization stress the ideal operation of the system (free from partisan tarnish and conflict) without suggesting to the children necessary ways of coping with the real world they may subsequently face. Children's uncertainty about where to turn for information about candidates and rejection of media information as well as influence from parents or teachers, suggests that they are absorbing an ideal of independence without the necessary support to maintain behavior fulfilling the ideal. Children in school particularly need to learn about effective channels for information and for action which has a reasonable probability of producing change.[14]

Limitations of Hess and Torney Study

The Hess and Torney study, although very useful, has limitations. In a special issue of the Harvard Educational Review devoted to political socialization, David O. Sears of the University of California at Los Angeles reviews the Hess and Torney book and points out what he considered to be some major fallacies.[15]

An important limitation of the study is that no Negro children were sampled. In studies conducted by Dwaine Marvick[16] on the political socialization the Negro, it was satisfactorily proved that there is no equal experience between white and black. A study without a Negro sample is unfortunate in this respect. In comparing the teacher's responses to those of the students, no attempt was made to establish a co-variance analysis between the teacher and his specific students. It is conceivable that all adults could feel as teachers do. One of the major criticisms of the work is that it bases its definition of complete socialization on the adoption of an agreed upon set of goals. Many attitudes of individuals are unstable and made from random experiences. Hess and Torney do not make any concession that the children in their sample could be responding superficially to matters they care little or less about. Therefore, the agreement so strongly stressed in the study that government is good and the President is good could be a matter of no consequence to the child. No follow-up was made to find out if attitudes persisted.

Other Aspects Affecting Political Socialization

In addition to the specific effects which a teacher or the curriculum may have upon a child, other differences such as social class, intelligence, sex and religious affiliation have been studied for some time. Greenstein concluded that lower status children in the crucial years of late elementary school are less likely to begin to feel that they have efficacy in making political choices.[17] In a study conducted in 1967, Jaros[18] found few social class differences and not many more attributed to racial differences. Even when social class was held constant, Hess and Torney found considerable difference in intelligence levels. The older children of high intelligence approximate the teacher's attitudes and base their conceptualization of government upon other than personalities. Brighter children in all classes were more likely to see the need for change as motivating candidates for public office. The recognition of the fallibility of government on the part of brighter students may be the reason for some of the student unrest in the high schools as well as on the campus. Students from higher social class also tend to discuss political issues more because their parents may be more willing to discuss politics at home with them. For the student who has not been prepared at home and who does not have a high cognitive level of ability, new ways of preparation for citizenship must be devised. Such students cannot see the whole and are more likely to look at a problem from their own perspective. If problems are constructed at their level and from their own experience, they are more likely to be able to deal with an analysis of issues.

A few major sex differences occurred between boys and girls. Boys were more likely to be concerned with political issues and were less interpersonal and were more likely to see a need for change rather than to accept the status quo.

These differences are seen on an adult level in basic political socialization research as well as in Greenstein's findings.[19]

Methods of Political Socialization

In analyzing how political socialization takes place, Hess and Torney propose four models: The first, called the accumulation model, simply means exposing children to symbols, ideas and attitudes; they will accumulate them. The implication here is that the child is the passive model and has little of his own needs to express. The second model is called the identification model wherein the child by his own volition emulates his parents and identifies with the symbols of his parents. This type of model is accredited with providing the continuity of support for the system from generation to generation. In school the child can identify with the teacher's attitudes, the curriculum, and the attitudes of his peers and in some ways may change his attitudes from those imprinted upon him by the home. A third model, the role transfer model, stresses the behavior and goals a child may have as a result of his experiences in different roles--a boy or girl as an only child, or as a twin, or in his role as a pupil in school. He brings different motivations to each of these roles which he may be forced to play throughout the day. In this respect the teacher too may feel that students have preconceived ideas and role expectations of their teachers. These mutual expectations and an understanding of them provides the child with some of the realistic skills he will need in his political socialization. The fourth, the cognitive model, stresses certain aspects of the older child's ability to deal with abstract and more complex aspects of his social world. The child's capacity to reason has a direct influence upon his socialization. The teacher needs to be aware of these levels of conceptual ability.

David Easton and Jack Dennis in their work entitled "Politics in the School Curriculum" state:

> We maintain that children know and have feelings about many more areas of political life than we give them credit for. We vastly underestimate the readiness of the child to cope with the avowedly complex aspect of the society that we call the political system. As we come to appreciate the nature of these political areas, we should expect that the curriculum itself will recognize and build on the obvious capacity of the child to receive formal instruction about these subjects.[20]

The role of the classroom teacher in building curriculum to a large degree depends upon the perspective that teachers have of the capabilities and maturity level of their students. Just how the teacher perceives his role in the process of political socialization has been barely researched. Hess and Torney's table duplicated here (Table 1, page 16) gives us insight to this aspect. Although much has been done of late on political attitudes of children, little has been done on the elementary teacher who must play the agent of his socialization in school. One study on the

Oregon high school teacher was completed by Harmon Zeigler in 1966.[21] This study gives us some illumination on teachers generally and had a direct impact on the decision to undertake the present study.

Harmon Zeigler chose to make the sex of the teacher his dependent variable. In studying the political behavior of teachers he observed the interaction of presumed differences in the societal roles assigned to men and women. Because more men are in high school teaching, he concentrated on the secondary level. A second point of emphasis in his study is the impact of social mobility upon the teaching profession. In order for the teacher to be secure in his role, he feels he must be a conservative, leaning toward the Republican party, and behave in a socially acceptable manner.

A third point of emphasis in Zeigler's study is the role the teacher plays in formal organization work of the teaching profession; and fourth, the perceptions a teacher has in relation to community sanctions. Zeigler's conclusions, which are listed in the appendix, will be compared to the conclusions in this dissertation.

Summary

The concept of civic training is not a new one. Change has occurred in emphasis only. Interdisciplinary studies have produced a wealth of information about our voting behavior and about the general socialization of our citizens. Studies have been written which perceive the manner in which children learn about politics, and a developmental pattern of political socialization emerges which tends to show that the schools are significant in developing support for our political system. Responses to authority are learned and our political institutions are supported by children in elementary school. Stress is placed upon the ideals of democracy rather than the realities; pressure groups and power elites are not known to the elementary school child and the curriculum fosters ideals of how a citizen should act rather than how he does act. It is this dichotomy between idealism and reality which may lead to later alienation on the part of the student who feels he has been "lied to."

This study will emphasize the role of the elementary teacher in the political socialization process with the expectation of making recommendations. The next chapter will deal with the hypotheses developed from the review of the literature and will outline the methodology of the study.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

[1] Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

A ten year study at the University of Chicago was conducted to provide teachers with better materials in citizenship training. Teachers who wished to participate were provided with a green box of indexed cards by subject matter which provided suggested *activities* for students in the political arena. A brown box contained bibliographical references to the subject areas under study and were cross referenced with the cards in the green box. Many of these activities were valuable and provided me with my first effective teaching materials.

[2] Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarfield, William McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Herbert H. Myman, *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958); Angus Campbell, P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960); Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching* (New York: Harpers, 1957); V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961); Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1959); Seymour Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959); Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963); and H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957).

[3] Hess and Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*, *passim*.

[4] Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (1968) pp. 852 - 67.

[5] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Values from Parent to Child," *The American Political Science Review*, 62 (1968) pp. 169 - 84.

[6] Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[7] David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

[8] Judith V. Torney and Robert D. Hess, "Teachers, Students and Political Attitude Development" (manuscript to be published as a chapter in Psychology and the Educational Process, ed. George Lesser [Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman Company] p. 18).

[9] Torney and Hess, "Teachers, Students and Political Attitude Development" p. 21. (The numbering in the manuscript is incorrect and what purports to be page 21 is actually page 20. This is true of all pages following page 21. The numbering here reflects the actual numbering as it appears on the manuscript.)

[10] Ibid., p. 27.

[11] Ibid., p. 35.

[12] Ibid., p. 36.

[13] Ibid., p. 36.

[14] Ibid., p. 37.

[15] David O. Sears, "Book Review," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Summer 1968) pp. 571 - 77.

[16] Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 361 (September 1965) pp. 112-27.

[17] Greenstein, p. 106.

[18] Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics 29 (1967) pp. 368-87.

[19] Greenstein, passim.

[20] David Easton and Jack Dennis, "Politics in the School Curriculum," The American School as a Political System, ed. Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), p. 73.

[21] Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1966).

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Development of Hypotheses

Neither Hess and Torney nor Easton and Dennis dealt sufficiently with the teacher's role in the political socialization process. The emphasis in their studies was how children learn about politics. Because almost every writer in the area of general socialization points to the significance of the school, it isn't very startling when Dawson and Prewitt[1] and Hess and Torney, among others, point out that the teacher is the main agent of socialization in the school, yet the teacher is neglected in most studies of political socialization. For no discernible reason, research on the elementary teacher in California is almost negligible. Harmon Ziegler dealt only with the high school teacher in Oregon, although at the same time he pointed out the significance of the elementary teacher in the political socialization process. One may ask some significant questions about the elementary teacher's role in this process, and it is for this reason that a sample of teachers of grades one through six was chosen to attempt to find answers and relationships to the hypotheses and questions which served as the basis for this study.

Effects of Teaching Experience

Harmon Zeigler's study of the political life of high school teachers in Oregon found that there was no clear relationship between sex, income, and political ideology. However, he found that as teaching experience increased, so did political conservatism. He found that increasing teaching experience contributed to a reluctance to speak in class about controversial topics.[1] He also found that liberals are more expressive than conservatives and that active involvement in the political process contributed toward a view of the classroom as a forum for the expression of political opinions.[2] Since most teachers did not regard the classroom as a proper medium for the expression of political values it becomes apparent that a hypothesis might be proven as to whether an elementary teacher's degree of conservatism will affect his degree of risk taking in handling controversial matters within the classroom and in the school district.

Effects of Liberal-Conservative Attitudes

Since almost all of the literature reviewed on citizenship education points to the fact that ideology is stressed rather than reality, it may follow that a conservative teacher is less likely to deal with subject matter which would stress controversy or use materials which might be considered controversial. This study will therefore test the hypothesis that a more conservative teacher is less likely to deal with the realities of the political system or use materials which may be considered controversial rather than consensual.

Effects of Political Involvement in the Classroom

Harmon Ziegler's study concluded that a teacher's active political involvement contributed to a greater expression of political ideas in the classroom,[3] and that liberals were more expressive.[4] Thus, this study will test the hypothesis that a teacher's values on a liberal-conservative scale will affect his role perception as to his actual participation in community politics and in professional educational organizations.

Effects of Age on Political Involvement

Almond and Verba found in all countries they studied that differences among generations were more significant than differences among social classes in the degree to which individuals feel they have opportunity to participate in family, school and political decision making.[5] They found that the older the respondent, the less likely he is to report opportunities for participation, and that persons in younger generations felt their experiences within the family and school gave them a greater sense of civic and political competence.[6] However, Harmon Ziegler concluded from his study that older teachers actually participated more in professional organization work, yet these teachers belonged to a generation whose participation in school and family decision making was greater than that of the older generation studied in the Almond and Verba studies.[7]

In most of the voting studies cited in Chapter II of this investigation, it was found that older people generally vote more consistently than younger persons and that older persons are more likely to be settled in a community and thus have more at stake in the decision-making process. One of the disappointments of politicians and social studies teachers at the time of this investigation is that, on a national level, only eighteen per cent of the eligible 18 to 21 year olds have registered to vote.[8] As a direct result of these findings, a hypothesis will be tested in this study that the age of the teacher and the years of teaching experience will affect the degree of political competence perceived by the teacher.

Effects of Type of Graduate Institution on Political Involvement

Paul Heist and George Yonge have validated that students are attracted to a particular campus because of certain personality traits which are attributed to the student body of that school.[9] The peer group tends to attract a like peer group. Thus, it may be concluded that when teachers are free to choose their graduate institution, they will be attracted by curriculum offerings and the character of the faculty which in turn attracts a specific student body. Whether or not the kind of teacher education institution is directly related to the teacher's degree of political socialization is a hypothesis to be tested in this study.

Effects of Region and of Campus Unrest On Political Involvement

Ziegler found that there was a significant degree of difference in the amount of political participation on the part of teachers in metropolitan areas, as opposed to teachers in rural or suburban areas.[10] Recent studies of campus unrest have revealed that on campuses which had recruitment policies open to minority students, which were known for their liberal tradition, and which were located in metropolitan areas, a larger degree of political activity existed on the part of students and faculty.[11] It may be expected that teachers who were involved in such campus unrest or who were generally knowledgable about students' demands and were politically active may be expected to perceive their own roles in the classroom and in the community as one permitting greater political activity.

Effects of Sanctions on Political Involvement

A large part of Ziegler's work dealt with a teacher's perceptions of sanctions as to the degree of permissible political activity. It was found that teachers who perceived that political activity was not sanctioned by the administration and the school board were more apt to be involved in political activity, in professional education work and in community politics.[12] This study will attempt to prove that the size of the school district and its policies, or lack of policies, concerning teaching controversial issues affect the degree of classroom activity which the teacher perceives as permissible.

For clarity of statement in the hypotheses which follow, the terms used are here defined:

1. "Degree of political socialization" is measured for purposes of this study by the amount of activity perceived by the teacher in community politics and in his professional education organization. For purposes of measuring political activity, the term connotes no more than this.
2. "The teacher's role perception" refers to the goals and objectives in citizenship training which the teacher perceives to be his primary purpose. A scale was used to test this role perception and is included in the appendix and explained in detail in this chapter.

Null Hypotheses Tested

The specific null hypotheses tested in this study are:

1. The values that a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale will not affect the teacher's risk

taking in handling controversial matters within his school district.

2. The values that a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale will not affect the teacher's choice of subject matter and materials in discussing the realities of the political system.
3. The values that a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale will not affect the role perception the teacher has as to his actual participation in both education and community politics.
4. The age of the teacher and the years of experience are not directly related to the degree of political socialization attained by the teacher.
5. The teacher education institution attended by the teacher has no relation to the teacher's role perception of his degree of political socialization in the community and his behavior in the classroom.
6. The teacher's role in recent events of campus unrest and the teacher's degree of knowledge of student unrest, has no relation to the role perceived by the teacher as to the degree of political activity permissible in the classroom and in the community.
7. The size of the school district and its policies or lack of policies concerning the teaching of controversial issues has no effect upon the degree of classroom activity the teacher perceives is permissible in the

area of teaching the realities of the political scene.

The level of significance to accept or reject the null hypotheses is $>.05$ of error.

Questions Asked in Study

In order to test the null hypotheses, specific questions needed to be answered to ascertain facts about the political socialization of elementary school teachers. Specifically, the following major questions were the guidelines for the development of the questionnaire sent to the teachers sampled:

1. Is the teacher a conservative or liberal on a scale which purports to measure the strength of general conservative belief?
2. What kinds of activities does the teacher conduct in the classroom?
3. How does the teacher perceive his role in the classroom as an agent of political socialization?
4. What does the teacher actually do in the classroom in terms of political events and current issues?
5. What kind of teacher training institute did the elementary teacher attend? What amount of campus unrest occurred during the teacher's graduate and undergraduate training?
6. How active is the teacher in his professional organization?
7. To what degree of difference does the teacher participate in his community as compared to participation in

his professional organization?

8. In what size district is this teacher employed and in what region of the state? What is the ethnic background of students in this teacher's class? Is there any relationship between these factors and the degree of the teacher's political activity?

Sampling

In order to answer these questions and support these hypotheses, a sample was needed of teachers in grades one through six in California public elementary schools. In order to procure a reasonable sample, the Joint Research Committee of the California Association of School Administrators, the California Association of Secondary School Administrators, the Elementary School Administrators Association and the Research Department of the California Teachers Association were asked to sponsor this study and to help draw a sample. The organizations agreed to sponsor the study and questionnaires were sent out to the school districts to be sampled during the weeks of February 15 and 22, 1971.[13]

It was agreed to sample grades one through six because the Hess and Torney research and the Patrick study[14] concluded that most of the socialization process was completed by the end of the sixth grade. Another reason for drawing the sample from grades one through six is that many of the seventh and eighth grades are housed in junior high schools which might change the data analysis because of other variables not found in the traditional elementary school.

The California Teachers Association Research Division drew the sample in the following manner. By using the total figures of the present year teachers' salary schedule study, which included all public schools in California, and which had information on all topics relating to average daily attendance and the number of teachers in the district, it was estimated that there were 85,000 teachers in grades one through six. A sample of 1250 of these teachers drawn randomly is considered sufficient for research and data collection. It was agreed to send out a double number of questionnaires and not use a follow-up letter in order to get a sufficient sample of one and one-half per cent of the elementary teachers in grades one through six.

The California Teachers Association's salary schedule, which includes all public schools in California, listed the schools surveyed and the principal of each school. The C. T. A. discovered that the best way to get responses from a random sample was to have the building principal of the school sampled choose teachers randomly who would receive research questionnaires. Each teacher would return the questionnaire himself, and if he did not wish to participate in the study, he could send the questionnaire on to the next person on the list. Usually, the ramdom sample was made by asking the principal to give a questionnaire to the first and sixth teacher on his list, and in the event that teacher did not wish to respond, he could give it to the next teacher on the list. Using this method, letters were sent out by the California Teachers Association to the principals of the schools selected for the study. The letter explained how he was to select his teachers.[15]

The three per cent sample of teachers for the entire study was selected from 472 school districts having first through sixth grade teachers. 973 schools were selected in these districts. A number of elementary school buildings in each district were randomly sampled in order to have one, two or three teachers selected from each building. The teachers were asked to voluntarily participate in the study. Eighty-nine of these schools received one survey form, 220 received two survey forms and 664 received three survey forms. The number of forms given each school depended upon the total size of the district. The directories used for the sample were the Directory of California Schools and the Directory of California School Administrators. The questionnaire was in preparation and was field tested for one year during 1970 before the final form was adopted and coded for computer services.

The San Rafael City Schools allowed the questionnaire to be field tested so that errors, misunderstandings and redundancies could be noted. With the help of the personnel director and without being told specific names, certain teachers were selected to be sampled according to differences in age, experience, residence and political party affiliation. Others were sampled randomly. These questionnaires were noted for errors and ambiguities and the final form was adopted.[16]

McClosky Scale on Liberalism-Conservatism

Herbert McClosky's scale on liberalism-conservatism was chosen as the vehicle to measure the strength of the teacher's general conservative belief.[17] This scale was chosen because it was necessary to measure the teacher's ability to deal with current problems and methods in the classroom in relation to his general conservative attitude toward change. A scale based on specific political issues would have been useless within months because of changing conditions of time and the changing status of the current political scene.

Originally McClosky selected twelve agree/disagree items from the works of Edmund Burke. In a succeeding study the items were reduced to nine, and for purposes of scoring, the population was divided into quartiles as follows: Extreme Conservatives, seven to nine agreements with the nine items; Moderate Conservatives, five to six agreements; Moderate Liberals, three to four agreements; Liberals, zero to two agreements. The author's scale was used successfully in three different studies with different samples[18] and validated by seniors and graduate students in a political theory class.[19]

Teacher Risk-Taking Scale

The items for the teacher risk-taking were modified from the scale used by Harmon Ziegler in his Oregon study and separated into two parts: the classroom activity scale[20] and the teacher risk scale involving political activites within the community.[21] The items were chosen to cover possible activities in the upper elementary grades as well as in the lower grades. An important part of the scale was the instruction to the recipient requiring him to make the assumption that materials used would be applicable to the age group and maturity and ability of students. Therefore, the question was "do you do the following?" It was felt that some of the teachers in early grades would need to use a not-applicable category for response. The items on the teacher activity scale reflected some current sociological and political questions along with general areas of political concern to teachers and students.

The items on the teacher risk scale in the community were selected for the kinds of professional problems facing teachers and school districts during these last few years.

Teacher's Role Perception of Civic Education

To test the teacher's role perception of his responsibilities in civic training, the models suggested and developed by Edgar Litt were used.[22] The three models devised by Litt correlate to and are derived from three distinct historical periods: (1) early American history; (2) period of mass emigration; and (3) recent United States history. These models delineate the purpose and subject matter of civic training for their respective historical period.

1. The Rational Activist Model.
    - A. Mastery of the political environment should be taught.
    - B. Harmony and political compromise are fundamental values.
    - C. Rights, duties and obligations of citizenship are of utmost importance.
    - D. The good citizen is a product of character training and one who participates responsibly in civic affairs.
    - E. The moral components of civic duty include public responsibility and voluntary participation.
    - F. Legalistic and humanistic studies are sufficient to instill concepts of good citizenship.
    - G. Conventional learning of forms, functions and structure of government institutions should be stressed.
2. The Integrative-Consensual Model.
    - A. The urban immigrant to the United States needed a new belief system which would acculturate him to this country.
    - B. It was necessary for the state to indulge in civic education because of large numbers of immigrants.
    - C. It was necessary for the schools to create allegiance to the United States and help to develop an integrated citizenry.
    - D. Harmony and community of interests should be stressed, not overt selfishness of conflicting interest groups.

E. The main aim of citizenship training was to promote fundamental consensus and to use the institutions of government developed in this country to dampen the revolutionary spirit and subcultural loyalties of immigrants.

F. It is important to socialize the child to the prevailing political order.

F. In order to accomplish the socialization necessary, a functional analysis of government is necessary.

3. Segmental-Organization Model.

A. The representative or ideal citizen is the person with analytical techniques and skills who is highly trained to perform an intellectual and specialized task.

B. Bureaucratic elites and the power structure become the focus of citizenship study rather than rights and consensus.

C. Analytical instruction of the function and structure of government is replaced by more abstract and conceptual units which enable the learner to deal with his changing environment. Problem solving is emphasized.

Eight questions were devised based upon each of the three models. Teachers indicated which principles best fit their beliefs about how citizenship training should be conducted.[23] The remainder of the questionnaire consisted of direct questions in order to test the hypotheses of the study.

The questionnaires were collected during the months of March and April, 1971, and key-punched and verified by the University of California.[24] Thirteen hundred and seventy questionnaires were returned to the Research Division of the California Teachers Association. The return was more than hoped for since 1250 would have been a sufficient random sample. By having the teachers send in their own questionnaires to the C.T.A., rather than giving them to their principals, a more independent sample was assured. The fact that the principal was to give the questionnaires to a random number of his teaching staff assured a sample of teachers who were not specifically chosen by the principal because they were loyal or better liked, but were selected at random.

Statistical Analysis

In order to test the hypotheses of this study the following statistical analysis was made. The score that an individual teacher made on the McClosky liberal-conservative attitude scale was cross tabulated with the answers to the teacher activity scale and the teacher risk scale, in order to determine the extent of the relationship which exists between liberal and conservative attitudes and risk taking in the school district and activities in the classroom.

A cross tabulation was made between the total score on the McClosky scale and the answers to the total score on the teacher activity scale and risk-taking scale. This analysis gave some indication of the manner in which the teacher actually discusses and teaches the realities of the political system and also indicates the existence of any relationship to the teacher's basic attitude toward conservatism or liberalism.

The degree of involvement in political activity of the teacher was determined by the response to Question 11 on page 7 of the questionnaire and Question 4 on page 8 of the questionnaire, which indicated the teacher's degree of political activity in the community and in educational professional organizations. This information detailed relationships which exist between the teachers belief system on the McClosky scale and his actual participation in both education and community politics.

The age of the teacher was tabled against his degree of political activity. This information was used to test the hypothesis that age affects the degree of political activity in the community and in education politics.

A three-way cross tabulation was made to test the hypothesis that age and experience of the teacher have a direct relationship to the amount of activity the teacher engages in, both in the community and in education politics.

Information about the kind of teacher education institution, its location and years of attendance was cross tabulated to the teacher's political involvement score to test the hypothesis that a relationship existed between political activity of the teacher and his teacher education institution.

Cross tabulations were made between the size of the school district and its policies on controversial issues and the teacher's total in-classroom activity scale and teacher risk scale. This relationship permitted an analysis of the hypothesis that the type of school district and its policies affect the degree of risk-taking perceived by the teacher to be permissible or actually practiced in the classroom.

The Chi Square Test of Independence was used to assess the statistical significance of the degree of the relationship between responses to the questions which were selected to test the hypotheses of the study. The program, G1 CAL TABLE 2, available from the University of California, Berkeley Computer Center was used to obtain simple frequency distributions of total responses to each question as well as to produce the two-way and three-way tables with percentages and Chi Square statistics, which comprised the major portion of the analystical work of the study. For some tables, it was not possible to perform the Chi Square Test of Independence because of an abundance of small cell frequencies. When more than twenty per cent of the expected values in any table had expected values less than five, no test could be performed.

Since in some instances, total scores were needed (such as on the McClosky scale) in addition to responses to individual questions, the program G4 CAL PIPOK was used to transform the raw data into total scores. This procedure was used to generate in punched card form total scores for the McClosky Liberal-Conservative Attitude Scale (Part II, Questions 1 through 9) and the teacher risk scale (Part V, Questions 1 through 9). The cards so produced were then merged with those containing responses to the original questionnaire items and this set of data was then available for constructing the tables which are included in this study.

Summary

The subjects used in this study of 1370 elementary teachers in the public schools of California were selected at random by the California Teachers Association from a list of all public elementary schools. Teachers responded to a questionnaire which ascertained their degree of liberalism from a validated liberal-conservative scale in relation to their role perception of themselves in citizenship training, to the types of classroom activities dealing with political realities and ideologies, and to the kinds of risks they would be willing to take in matters of direct concern to the teaching profession. Additional questions were asked concerning the amount of activity teachers are engaged in in community and education politics. The data thus collected and submitted to an analysis of variances are presented in Chapter IV and to further critique in Chapter V.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

[1] Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), passim.

[2] Zeigler, p. 151.

[3] Ibid., p. 156.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton: N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 338.

[6] Ibid., p. 346.

[7] Zeigler, p. 154.

[8] "Gallup Poll," San Francisco Chronicle, February 1, 1972, p. 18.

[9] Paul Heist and George Yonge, Omnibus Personality Inventory Test Manual (New York: Psychological Corp., 1962), passim.

[10] Zeigler, p. 62.

[11] Kenneth Kenniston and Michael Lerner, "Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 395 (May 1971) pp. 32 - 39.

[12] Zeigler, p. 135.

[13] See Appendix for letters written to the teacher, principal and superintendent.

[14] John J. Patrick, Political Socialization of American Youth: Implications for Secondary School Social Studies, A Review of Research (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967), passim.

[15] See Appendix for letter to the principal.

[16] See Appendix for Questionnaire.

[17] Questionnaire, Part II, Questions 1 through 5, p. 5 of Questionnaire.

[18] Campbell, Converse, et al., _passim_; D. R. Mathews and J. W. Prothro, _Negroes and the New Southern Politics_, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966); J. Photiadis and J. Bigger, "Religiosity, Education and Ethnic Distance," _American Journal of Sociology_, 67 (1962) pp. 666 - 72.

[19] Herbert McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," _American Political Science Review_, 52 (1958) pp. 27 - 45.

[20] Questionnaire, Part V, Questions 1 through 11, p. 8 - 9.

[21] Questionnaire, Part V, Questions 1 through 9, p. 9.

[22] Edgar Litt, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America," _The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science_, 361 (September 1965) pp. 32 - 39.

[23] Questionnaire, Part VI, Questions 1 through 8, p. 10.

[24] See Appendix for Key Punching Instructions.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The instrument used for collecting the data for this study was divided into six major parts seeking: (1) general information about the teacher, such as age, sex, type of teacher education institution attended, and present teaching position; (2) answers to a liberal-conservative attitude scale; (3) information regarding the teacher's professional activity; (4) information about the teacher's political activity; (5) answers to a teacher activity scale and a teacher risk scale; and (6) answers relating to the teacher's feelings about civic education models.

As presented in Tables 2 and 3, the findings for Part I give an overview of the sample of the study. Female teachers constituted 77.5 per cent of the sample; the majority are under the age of thirty-nine years and have taught in the state for less than ten years and are presently in districts over the size of 10,000 pupils. Forty-eight per cent of the teachers received their graduate and teacher education at a state college. Less than twenty per cent came from out of state. Most teachers, almost ninety per cent, attended graduate school in the 1960's and in 1970. Of the teachers surveyed, less than ten per cent participate actively in politics.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED AS TO AGE, SEX, LENGTH OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE AND SIZE OF DISTRICT

AGE	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
20-29 years	420	30.7
30-39 years	347	25.3
40-49 years	331	24.2
50-59 years	222	16.2
60-69 years	42	3.1
No response	8	.6

SEX	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
Male	290	21.2
Female	1062	77.3
No Response	18	1.3

LENGTH OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
In-State		
0- 5 years	518	37.8
6-10 years	344	25.1
11-15 years	232	16.9
16-20 years	150	10.9
21-24 years	59	4.3
25-30 years	28	2.0
31 and over	19	1.4
Out-of-State		
0- 5 years	345	25.2
6-10 years	72	5.3
11-15 years	25	1.8
16-20 years	18	1.3
21-24 years	7	.5
25-30 years	7	.5
31 and over	3	.2

SIZE OF DISTRICT IN WHICH PRESENTLY TEACHING	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
25,000 and over	451	32.9
10,000 - 24,999	355	25.9
4,000 - 9,999	247	18.0
2,000 - 3,999	133	9.7
1,000 - 1,999	69	5.0
500 - 999	47	3.4
499 and under	11	.8

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED AS TO TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION, YEARS ATTENDED AND AMOUNT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY EXPERIENCED BY THE INSTITUTION

TYPE OF GRADUATE TEACHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION ATTENDED	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
In-State		
Same institution as undergraduate	214	15.6
Normal School	2	.1
State College	660	48.2
State University	339	24.7
Private College	149	10.9
Private University	128	9.3
Other	23	1.7
Out-of-State		
Same institution as undergraduate	38	2.8
Normal School	5	.4
State College	50	3.6
State University	132	9.6
Private College	20	1.5
Private University	43	3.1
Other	7	.5

YEARS ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
1930-1939	23	1.7
1940-1949	63	4.6
1950-1959	318	23.2
1960-1969	906	66.1
1970	355	25.9

AMOUNT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY EXPERIENCED BY GRADUATE INSTITUTION WHILE ATTENDING	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
A great deal	89	6.5
Moderate	390	28.5
Very little	487	35.5
None	241	17.6
No Response	163	11.9

Table 4 represents the amount of activity engaged in by the teacher in community politics and in professional organizational work. This table represents the degree of socialization, as used in this study. As previously defined, education politics refers to the amount of activity within the professional organization.

The sample of teachers was representative of each district within the organizational pattern of the California Teachers Association (C.T.A.) with more than fifty per cent coming from the Southern Section and thirty per cent from the Bay Section. The remainder were proportionate to the relative populations of their areas.

Part III of the Questionnaire (see Appendix, Questionnaire pages 5 through 7) gives an overview of the teacher's role in his professional organization. Of the teachers sampled, 89.7 per cent belonged to the California Teachers Association, 66.4 per cent to the National Education Association, 4.9 per cent to the United Teachers of Los Angeles, and 6.6 per cent to the American Federation of Teachers.

The teachers' perceptions of the efficacy and responsibility of their organization is noted in their answers to the questions as to what they think their officials would do if they were contacted. Responses of the California Teachers Association members indicated that 60.4 per cent felt their officials would do what they could about the problem, 18.1 per cent felt they would not do much, and 2.3 per cent felt they would ignore or try to get rid of the teachers. The

TABLE 4

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Very Active	9	7.31	24	19.51	57	46.34	27	21.95	6	4.87
Active	1	.42	29	12.23	114	48.10	74	31.22	19	8.01
Moderately Active	1	.20	30	6.04	204	41.12	214	43.14	47	9.47
Seldom Active	4	.86	16	3.47	97	21.08	210	45.65	133	28.91

P = .0000

responses from members of the National Education Association, the United Teachers of Los Angeles, and the American Federation of Teachers were not sufficient to warrant a comparison.

In classifying themselves as to their education principles, 2.8 per cent were ultra liberal, 33.8 per cent moderately liberal, 36.4 per cent moderate, 20.9 per cent moderately conservative and 3.7 per cent were traditional conservatives. (See Appendix, Questionnaire page 7.)

As indicated in Table 5, teachers do register and vote, which is true of teachers nationally as well (see Table 6). The percentage of the teachers sampled voting in national elections as compared to state and local is comparable to the national voting pattern in that there is greater participation in national and state elections than in local. Ninety-one and seven tenths per cent of the teachers always vote in state and national elections, whereas only 81 per cent in local government and 81.9 per cent in school elections. However, when classifying themselves as community activists only 1.1 per cent consider themselves very active, 7.3 per cent active, 35.2 per cent moderately active, 38.8 per cent seldom active and 15.7 per cent never active. (See Table 4.)

Analysis of Liberal-Conservative Scale

The McClosky Scale, which is described in the previous chapter, gives an idea of what the teacher believes about the classic conservative doctrine. Table 7 details the responses on each item, Table 8 gives the total scores on

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED AS TO VOTER ACTIVITY

VOTER ACTIVITY	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
REGISTERED VOTER		
Yes	1315	96.0
No	47	3.4
No response	8	.6
REGISTERED AS:		
Republican	644	47.0
Democrat	598	43.6
Independent	58	4.2
Other	13	.9
No response	57	4.2
NOT REGISTERED, BUT CONSIDER SELF:		
Republican	61	4.5
Democrat	65	4.7
Independent	48	3.5
Other	6	.4
FREQUENCY OF VOTING		
School Elections		
Always	1122	81.9
Often	135	9.9
Sometimes	49	3.6
Never	39	2.8
No response	25	1.8
Local Government Elections		
Always	1114	81.3
Often	163	11.9
Sometimes	34	2.5
Never	32	2.3
No response	27	2.0
State and National Elections		
Always	1256	91.7
Often	57	4.2
Sometimes	20	1.5
Never	12	.9
No response	25	1.8

TABLE 6

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION SURVEY*

TEACHER OPINION POLL

How would you classify yourself in regard to your political affiliation?	1969	1970	1971
Democratic	41.3%	37.9%	39.2%
Republican	36.3	32.3	28.6
Independent	21.5	a	a
Other	0.9	1.1	0.8
I do not consider myself affiliated with any political party	a	28.7	31.4

SURVEY OF NEA MEMBERS

How would you classify yourself in regard to your political philosophy?	1971
Conservative	14.7%
Tend to be conservative	40.8
Tend to be liberal	35.2
Liberal	9.3

* In July, 1971, the NEA Research Division conducted an extensive nation-wide probe into teacher opinion on political, organizational and instructional issues. Some of the subjects covered in the 1971 poll had also been surveyed in earlier years. The above data is an excerpt issued by the NEA West Coast Regional Office.

a This category was not on the questionnaire in this year.

the McClosky Scale and Table 9 is a cross tabulation between the McClosky Scale and what the teacher actually does in the classroom. It is interesting to note here that of the nine items on the McClosky scale only two items have less than 80 per cent disagreement, which signifies that most teachers consider themselves liberals in principle. However, on the scale which measures what a teacher does in a list of eleven activities, no activity received more than a 50 per cent "yes" answer despite the fact that materials were to be used according to specific age and maturity levels of the student. (See Table 10). The highest response, 47.6 per cent "yes", was to the item which read, "Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a 'balanced' view on current affairs."

The McClosky Scale, even though purporting to represent the classic conservative view, may be out of date at this time because of much of the emphasis is upon unwillingness to change. In 1970, change was such a common phenomenon that it is doubtful many persons would be able to agree with more than two or three items on the scale. (See Table 11.)

When comparing the McClosky Scale to the Teacher Risk Scale, there is a significant relationship.(See Tables 12 and 13.) Whereas the teacher appears to be very conservative in what he is willing to do in the classroom, he is willing to take more risks at the community level. The only three items which did not receive more than 60 per cent agreement

TABLE 7

McCLOSKY LIBERALISM - CONSERVATISM ATTITUDE SCALE

STATEMENT	AGREE		DISAGREE		NO RESPONSE	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.	114	8.3	1218	88.9	38	2.8
No matter how we like to talk about it, political authority really comes not from us, but from some high power.	538	39.3	766	55.9	66	4.8
It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.	185	13.5	1137	83.0	48	3.5
A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.	159	11.6	1159	84.6	52	3.8
I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas.	188	13.7	1071	78.2	111	8.1
If something grows up over a long period of time, there will always be much wisdom to it.	101	7.4	1201	87.7	67	4.9
I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.	164	12.0	1145	83.6	61	4.5
All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way.	131	9.6	1176	85.8	63	4.6
We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.	142	10.4	1103	80.5	124	9.1

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON THE McCLOSKY SCALE, TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND TEACHER RISK SCALE

SCALE	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
McCLOSKY SCALE *		
Total number of individuals that agreed with:		
None of the 9 statements	511	37.3
One of the 9 statements	408	29.8
Two of the 9 statements	230	16.8
Three of the 9 statements	113	8.2
Four of the 9 statements	59	4.3
Five of the 9 statements	30	2.2
Six of the 9 statements	11	.8
Seven of the 9 statements	3	.2
Eight of the 9 statements	3	.2
All nine of the statements	2	.1
Teacher Activity Scale **		
Total number of individuals that would do:		
None of the 11 activities	570	41.6
One of the 11 activities	337	24.6
Two of the 11 activities	180	13.1
Three of the 11 activities	109	8.0
Four of the 11 activities	76	5.5
Five of the 11 activities	38	2.8
Six of the 11 activities	27	2.0
Seven of the 11 activities	11	.8
Eight of the 11 activities	10	.7
Nine of the 11 activities	7	.5
Ten of the 11 activities	3	.2
All eleven activities	2	.1
Teacher Risk Scale ***		
Total number of individuals that would do:		
None of the 9 risk activities	88	6.4
One of the 9 risk activities	61	4.5
Two of the 9 risk activities	68	5.0
Three of the 9 risk activities	94	6.9
Four of the 9 risk activities	104	7.6
Five of the 9 risk activities	154	11.2
Six of the 9 risk activities	202	14.7
Seven of the 9 risk activities	188	13.7
Eight of the 9 risk activities	175	12.8
All nine of the risk activities	236	17.2

* See Table 7

** See Table 10

*** See Table 12

TABLE 9

CROSS TABULATION BETWEEN
TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND McCLOSKY SCALE

McCLOSKY SCALE *	TEACHER ACTIVITIES ** Total number who would do:																							
	None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 out of 11		5 out of 11		6 out of 11		7 out of 11		8 out of 11		9 out of 11		10 out of 11		All 11 Activities	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	466	40.6	290	25.2	151	13.1	92	8.0	66	5.7	34	3.0	23	2.0	7	.6	10	.9	6	.5	2	.2	2	.2
Moderate Liberal	83	48.3	34	19.8	21	12.2	14	8.1	10	5.8	3	1.7	1	.6	4	2.3	0	0.0	1	.6	1	.6	0	0.0
Conservative	19	46.3	11	26.8	4	9.8	3	7.3	0	0.0	1	2.4	3	7.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Extreme Conservative	2	25.0	2	25.0	4	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	570	41.6	337	24.6	180	13.1	109	8.0	76	5.5	38	2.8	27	2.0	11	.8	10	.7	7	.5	3	.2	2	.1

* See Table 7. Respondents grouped, according to responses, as follows:
Liberal: 0 to 2 agreements out of 9 statements (total 1149)
Moderate Liberal: 3 to 4 agreements out of 9 statements (total 172)
Conservative: 5 to 6 agreements out of 9 statements (total 41)
Extreme Conservative: 7 to 9 agreements out of 9 statements (total 8)

** See Table 10.

P = .3511

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED
ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

TEACHER ACTIVITY *	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	115	8.4	283	20.7	923	67.4
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	159	11.6	295	21.5	866	63.2
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a "balanced" view on current affairs.	652	47.6	136	9.9	539	39.3
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	226	16.5	495	36.1	567	41.4
5. Speak in class yourself for or against the Vietnam war.	282	20.6	622	45.4	406	29.6
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	142	10.4	657	48.0	514	37.5
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	129	9.4	656	47.9	517	37.7
8. Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	70	5.1	595	43.4	622	45.4
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	21	1.5	664	48.5	599	43.7
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	28	2.0	656	47.9	608	44.4
11. Tell the class about how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	128	9.3	792	57.8	382	27.9

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.

** Not applicable for other reasons.

TABLE 11

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE
ACCORDING TO LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE SCALE

TEACHER ACTIVITY *	YES		NO		N/A **	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.						
***Liberal	98	8.5	239	20.8	768	66.8
Moderate Liberal	14	8.1	29	16.9	124	72.1
Conservative	3	7.3	11	26.8	27	65.9
Extreme Conservative	0	0.0	4	50.0	4	50.0
Total	115	8.4	283	20.7	923	67.4
Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.						
Liberal	139	12.1	251	21.8	716	62.3
Moderate Liberal	17	9.9	30	17.4	118	68.6
Conservative	2	4.9	11	26.8	28	68.3
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	3	37.5	4	50.0
Total	159	11.6	295	21.5	866	63.2
Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a "balanced" view on current affairs.						
Liberal	559	48.7	117	10.2	438	38.1
Moderate Liberal	74	43.0	13	7.6	78	45.3
Conservative	14	34.1	5	12.2	21	51.2
Extreme Conservative	5	62.5	1	12.5	2	25.0
Total	652	47.6	136	9.9	539	39.3
Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.						
Liberal	192	16.7	427	37.2	463	40.3
Moderate Liberal	26	15.1	53	30.8	79	45.9
Conservative	7	17.1	11	26.8	22	53.7
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	4	50.0	3	37.5
Total	226	16.5	495	36.1	567	41.4
Table continued...						

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.

** Not applicable for other reasons.

*** McClosky Scale, see Table 7. Respondents grouped according to response as follows:

Liberal: 0 to 2 agreements out of 9 statements (total 1149)
Moderate Liberal: 3 to 4 agreements out of 9 statements (total 172)
Conservative: 5 to 6 agreements out of 9 statements (total 41)
Extreme Conservative: 7 to 9 agreements out of 9 statements (total 8)

Note: Per cent figures relate to total in each of above groups.

TABLE 11 (continued)

TEACHER ACTIVITY *	YES		NO		N/A**	
...Table continued	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Speak in class yourself for or against the Vietnam war.						
***Liberal	243	21.1	522	45.4	336	29.2
Moderate Liberal	32	18.6	75	43.6	53	30.8
Conservative	7	17.1	21	51.2	13	31.7
Extreme Conservative	0	0.0	4	50.0	4	50.0
Total	282	20.6	622	45.4	406	29.6
Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.						
Liberal	120	10.4	557	48.5	429	37.3
Moderate Liberal	17	9.9	74	43.0	69	40.1
Conservative	4	9.8	22	53.7	13	31.7
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	4	50.0	3	37.5
Total	142	10.4	657	48.0	514	37.5
Speak in class for or against socialism.						
Liberal	102	8.9	560	48.7	433	37.7
Moderate Liberal	21	12.2	74	43.0	65	37.8
Conservative	6	14.6	17	41.5	16	39.0
Extreme Conservative	0	0.0	5	62.5	3	37.5
Total	129	9.4	656	47.9	517	37.7
Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.						
Liberal	56	4.9	505	44.0	518	45.1
Moderate Liberal	10	5.8	72	41.9	79	45.9
Conservative	3	7.3	16	39.0	20	48.8
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	2	25.0	5	62.5
Total	70	5.1	595	43.4	622	45.4
Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your classroom.						
Liberal	16	1.4	561	48.8	499	43.4
Moderate Liberal	3	1.7	82	47.7	76	44.2
Conservative	1	2.4	19	46.3	19	46.3
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	2	25.0	5	62.5
Total	21	1.5	664	48.5	599	43.7
Table continued...						

*, **, and *** See footnotes on first page of this table.

TABLE 11 (continued)

TEACHER ACTIVITY *	YES		NO		N/A**	
...Table continued	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your classroom.						
***Liberal	26	2.3	547	47.6	511	44.5
Moderate Liberal	1	.6	87	50.6	73	42.4
Conservative	1	2.4	19	46.3	19	46.3
Extreme Conservative	0	0.0	3	37.5	5	62.5
Total	28	2.0	656	47.9	608	44.4
Tell the class how you fell about a particular candidate for public office.						
Liberal	114	9.9	665	57.9	319	27.8
Moderate Liberal	11	6.4	99	57.6	47	27.3
Conservative	3	7.3	24	58.5	12	29.3
Extreme Conservative	0	0.0	4	50.0	4	50.0
Total	128	9.3	792	57.8	382	27.9

*, **, and *** See footnotes on first page of this table.

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER RISK SCALE

TEACHER RISK	YES		NO	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Serve as a party precinct worker in pre-election activities.	1162	84.8	177	12.9
2. Run for political office.	979	71.5	344	25.1
3. Belong to controversial community groups such as Planned Parenthood.	1026	74.9	297	21.7
4. Go on strike to secure high salaries and other benefits.	515	37.6	780	56.9
5. Take part in public picketing against the war in Vietnam.	554	40.4	738	53.9
6. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper criticizing school policy.	670	48.9	644	47.0
7. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper criticizing public policy.	1021	74.5	298	21.8
8. Belong to a third political party.	840	61.3	459	33.5
9. Criticize your administration to the local teachers' organization.	950	69.3	366	26.7

TABLE 13

CROSS TABULATION BETWEEN TEACHER RISK SCALE AND McCLOSKY SCALE

McCLOSKY SCALE *	TEACHER RISKS** Total number who would do:					
	None of Risk Activities		1 out of 9		2 out of 9	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	65	5.7	41	3.6	52	4.5
Moderate Liberal	13	7.6	16	9.3	9	5.2
Conservative	7	17.1	2	4.9	7	17.1
Extreme Conservative	3	37.5	2	25.0	0	0.0
Total	88	6.4	61	4.5	68	5.0

	3 out of 9		4 out of 9		5 out of 9		6 out of 9	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	72	6.3	77	6.7	127	11.1	178	15.5
Moderate Liberal	12	7.0	22	12.8	22	12.8	20	11.6
Conservative	9	22.0	5	12.2	5	12.2	3	7.3
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	12.5
Total	94	6.9	104	7.6	154	11.2	202	14.7

	7 out of 9		8 out of 9		All of Risk Activities	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	166	14.4	162	14.1	209	18.2
Moderate Liberal	20	11.6	12	7.0	26	15.1
Conservative	1	2.4	1	2.4	1	2.4
Extreme Conservative	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	188	13.7	175	12.8	236	17.2

* See Table 7. Respondents grouped, according to response, as follows:
Liberal: 0 to 2 agreements out of 9 statements (total 1149)
Moderate Liberal: 3 to 4 agreements out of 9 statements (total 172)
Conservative: 5 to 6 agreements out of 9 statements (total 41)
Extreme Conservative: 7 to 8 agreements out of 9 statements (total 8)

** See Table 12.

P = .0000

TABLE 14

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN NUMBER OF TEACHER RISKS AND TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

NUMBER OF TEACHER RISKS* INDIVIDUALS WOULD TAKE:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES					
	Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	29	7.37	95	24.17	269	68.44
5 to 6	27	7.89	80	23.39	235	68.71
7 to 8	34	9.52	63	17.64	260	72.82
All 9 (P=.2409)	25	10.91	45	19.65	159	69.43
	Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	43	10.94	95	24.17	255	64.88
5 to 6	39	11.43	82	24.04	220	64.51
7 to 8	43	12.04	73	20.44	241	67.50
All 9 (P=.5937)	34	14.84	45	19.65	150	65.50
	Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a "balanced" view on current affairs.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	186	47.08	47	11.89	162	41.01
5 to 6	180	52.17	37	10.72	128	37.10
7 to 8	175	49.01	36	10.08	146	40.89
All 9 (P=.3557)	111	48.26	16	6.95	103	44.78
	Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	55	14.78	145	38.97	172	46.23
5 to 6	87	24.23	138	38.44	134	37.32
7 to 8	64	18.49	136	39.30	146	42.19
All 9 (P=.0036)	32	14.34	76	34.08	115	51.56

Table continued...

* See Table 12

** Not applicable for reasons other than age group, maturity or ability of students.

TABLE 14 (continued)

NUMBER OF TEACHER RISKS* INDIVIDUALS WOULD TAKE:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES					
...Table continued	Speak in class yourself for or against the Vietnam war.					
	YES		NO		NO APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	50	12.91	203	52.45	134	34.62
5 to 6	82	23.97	176	51.46	84	24.56
7 to 8	84	23.79	153	43.34	116	32.86
All 9 (P=.0000)	66	28.94	90	39.47	72	31.57
	Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	27	7.03	210	54.68	147	38.28
5 to 6	33	9.90	178	53.45	122	36.63
7 to 8	45	12.60	165	46.21	147	41.17
All 9 (P=.0078)	37	16.08	104	45.21	89	38.69
	Speak in class for or against socialism.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	27	6.97	206	53.22	154	39.78
5 to 6	36	10.68	177	52.52	124	36.79
7 to 8	44	12.18	179	49.58	138	38.22
All 9 (P=.1448)	24	10.48	104	45.41	101	44.10
	Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your classroom.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	15	3.94	185	48.68	180	47.36
5 to 6	20	5.95	158	47.02	158	47.02
7 to 8	25	7.22	147	42.48	174	50.28
All 9 (P=.3982)	10	4.44	105	46.66	110	48.88
	Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your classroom.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	5	1.35	203	54.86	162	43.78
5 to 6	4	1.15	187	54.04	155	44.79
7 to 8	9	2.61	164	47.67	171	49.70
All 9 (P=.3720)	3	1.33	120	53.33	102	45.33

* and ** See the first page of this table for explanatory footnotes.

Table continued...

TABLE 14 (continued)

NUMBER OF TEACHER RISKS* INDIVIDUALS WOULD TAKE:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES					
...Table continued	Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	2	.52	205	53.80	174	45.66
5 to 6	5	1.51	179	54.24	146	44.24
7 to 8	16	4.63	156	45.21	173	50.14
All 9 (P=.0034)	5	2.21	116	51.32	105	46.46
	Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.					
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 4	18	4.81	243	64.97	113	30.21
5 to 6	37	10.85	213	62.46	91	26.68
7 to 8	46	12.92	205	57.58	105	29.49
All 9 (P=.0081)	27	12.00	130	57.77	68	30.22

* and ** See the first page of this table for explanatory footnotes.

were that the teachers were not willing to (1) go on strike, (2) take part in public picketing against the war in Vietnam, and (3) write a letter to the local editor criticizing school policy. (See Table 12.) The explanation for a less than majority response on the first item may be due to the long standing disagreement between the California Teachers Association (CTA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) as to the necessity of collective bargaining. Eighty-nine per cent of the teachers in this sample belong to the CTA. Since most of our teachers are not political activists it is not surprising that they do not feel free to publicly picket against the war in Vietnam. Although teachers do not hesitate to say that it is all right to write a letter to the editor of their paper criticizing public policy, they do not feel the same way about criticizing school policy. Part of this may be due to their feeling of professionalism in which matters of concern to the school should be handled at the school level and not made part of public discussion and ridicule.

McClosky Scale in Relation to Teacher Risk and Activity Scales

Table 13 depicts a relationship between the degree of conservatism on the McClosky Scale and the kinds of activities in which each teacher is willing to engage in the classroom. Even if the materials were suitable to the age group and to the maturity and ability of students, many teachers felt that such activities were "not applicable." It may be presumed then that such activities would not be undertaken and consequently would be considered a negative response. It is interesting to note that when one compares items of methodology, such as bringing speakers to the classroom, rather than stressing any particular issue or ideology, the liberals and extreme conservatives are not far apart in their responses. When responding to the question about the war in Vietnam or Birch Society literature, the extreme conservatives and the liberals are far apart. The highest percentage in any one category by any one group was the extreme conservative's response to the item which stated: "Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a 'balanced' view on current affairs." In totaling the number of activities out of eleven which any one teacher would undertake, it is significant to note that only the liberals and moderate liberals responded positively to more than seven activities. Forty and six tenths per cent of the liberals replied that they would not undertake any activities, thus suggesting that ideology, whether conservative or liberal, in the classic sense, is not the controlling factor in teachers' decisions about activities in the classroom.

Analysis of Teacher Activity Scale by Grade Level

Teachers' responses to the eleven items were broken down by grade level.(See Tables 15 through 22.) In the responses from fourteen teachers in an ungraded classroom from grades one through six, the only item to which no teacher responded "yes" was whether he would give out literature or periodicals of militant black or third world organizations. (See Table 15.) Only one of these teachers was willing to tell how he felt about any particular candidate. Eight teachers agreed to give out "balanced" periodicals, an activity not known for its daring or originality. This was the largest "yes" response.

Because the language barrier and the maturity level of students in grades one through three may preclude the teacher's handling of many of the items on the activity scale, it is worthwhile to compare the responses of the teachers in a multi-graded middle school, teaching grades four through six, with those teaching a multi-graded class of grades one through three. Approximately 37 of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire were in multi-grades of one through three and 68 in multi-grades four through six. (See Table 16.) The only item which had a majority of responses in the upper grades was the item "Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a 'balanced' view on current affairs," while only ten of the 37 teachers would do so in grades one through three. Twenty-five of these teachers marked the column, "not applicable." Although the Hess and Torney study stresses that children have a concept of the nation at the second grade level, no teacher in this group would bring in

TABLE 15

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED
ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

TEACHERS IN UNGRADED (1-6)

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	1	7.14	1	7.14	12	85.71
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	1	7.14	1	7.14	12	85.71
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	8	57.14	2	14.28	4	28.57
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	3	23.07	6	46.15	4	30.76
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	3	21.42	8	57.14	3	21.42
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	1	7.14	9	64.28	4	28.57
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	1	7.69	7	53.84	5	38.46
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	1	7.14	5	35.71	8	57.14
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	1	7.14	5	35.71	8	57.14
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	0	0.00	6	42.85	8	57.14
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	1	7.69	9	69.23	3	23.07

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

TABLE 16

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED
ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

TEACHERS IN MULTI-GRADE MIDDLE GRADES (4-6)

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	13	20.00	18	27.69	34	52.30
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	16	24.24	20	30.30	30	45.45
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	44	66.66	10	15.15	12	18.18
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	17	27.41	31	50.00	14	22.58
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	19	29.23	35	53.84	11	16.92
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	11	16.92	38	58.46	16	24.61
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	5	7.69	44	67.69	16	24.61
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	4	6.34	33	52.38	26	41.26
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	1	1.61	37	59.67	24	38.70
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	3	4.61	37	56.92	25	38.46
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	13	20.31	41	64.06	10	15.62

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

TABLE 17

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

TEACHERS IN MULTI-GRADE PRIMARY LEVEL 1-3

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	0	0.00	2	5.40	35	94.59
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	2	5.40	3	8.10	32	86.48
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	10	27.02	2	5.40	25	67.56
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	3	8.10	8	21.62	26	70.27
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	5	13.88	8	22.22	23	63.88
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	3	8.10	7	18.91	27	72.97
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	1	2.77	8	22.22	27	75.00
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	0	0.00	5	13.88	31	86.11
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	0	0.00	6	17.64	28	82.35
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	1	2.85	6	17.14	28	80.00
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	2	5.55	11	30.55	23	63.88

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

speakers on any important national issue even if applicable to age and maturity of the students. Teachers of multi-grades could reflect either a progressive or regressive school system; however, the evidence is not conclusive enough to be able to make any generalizations.

Response from Sixth Grade Teachers

The response, however, from approximately 152 sixth grade teachers throughout the state does give an indication of the kinds of activities used in the upper grade of elementary school. (See Table 18.) It would seem that a mark in the "not applicable" column in the sixth grade teacher's response indicates an unwillingness on his part to deal with the problems listed on the activity scale, since many sixth graders are reading at high school level. Only two items warranted a majority "yes" response: the use of periodicals to give a "balanced" point of view and the teacher's expressing an attitude about the war in Vietnam. One would imagine that more sixth grade teachers would respond "yes" to allowing speakers on important local issues to come into the classroom; but speaking in class for or against the war in Vietnam received twice the "yes" response.

If sixth graders are studying any local or national current problems, one would expect that integration would be an important subject to discuss, particularly where busing is concerned. However, only 32 sixth grade teachers responded "yes" to this item. One item which deserves

TABLE 18

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

SIXTH GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	28	17.17	61	37.42	74	45.39
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	34	20.98	59	36.41	69	42.59
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	120	71.85	24	14.37	23	13.77
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	39	24.37	92	57.50	29	18.12
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	55	34.16	85	52.79	21	13.04
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	32	19.51	97	59.14	35	21.34
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	35	21.60	98	60.49	29	17.90
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	18	11.11	105	64.81	39	24.07
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	3	1.85	121	74.69	38	23.45
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	4	2.46	118	72.83	40	24.69
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	27	16.26	126	75.90	13	7.83

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

special attention is the one which reads: "Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office." Although only thirteen teachers felt it wasn't applicable (the least number of "not applicable" of all eleven responses), 126 teachers said they would not do so and only 27 said they would. In contrast, a high number of "no" responses (121) were received to the item which would allow Birch Society literature to be distributed in class. One hundred eighteen teachers said they would not allow distribution of literature or periodicals of militant black or third world organizations. None of the other items had as high a "no" vote. It seems significant that a teacher speaking about a candidate is a practice more prohibitive than allowing distribution of Birch Society or militant black literature.

Response from Fifth Grade Teachers

More fifth grade teachers responded to the questions in the scale than did sixth grade teachers, but there was only a three per cent higher number of fifth grade teachers than sixth in the sample. One reason for this is that in some school districts the sixth grade is removed to an upper elementary school along with seventh and eigth graders. (See Table 19.)

Two hundred eight fifth grade teachers replied to the Teacher Activity Scale. The only category which received more than a 50 per cent "yes" was the item on balanced

TABLE 19

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

FIFTH GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	21	9.95	71	33.64	119	56.39
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	31	14.69	76	36.01	104	49.28
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	146	69.19	18	8.53	47	22.27
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	51	25.24	94	46.53	57	28.21
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	59	28.50	119	57.48	29	14.00
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	27	12.91	131	62.67	51	24.40
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	31	15.27	125	61.57	47	23.15
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	15	7.46	114	56.71	72	35.82
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	5	2.47	129	63.86	68	33.66
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	9	4.41	123	60.29	72	35.29
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	29	13.94	154	74.03	25	12.01

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

periodicals. Although 25 teachers said that speaking about a candidate was not applicable, 154 definitely said "no." Again this response was far greater in the "no" category than any other item on the scale. The item "Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues" received 104 "not applicables" and 76 "no's." One interpretation could be that the fifth grade teacher is teaching history of the United States and current affairs are not applicable. Assuming again that materials are applicable according to age group, it is difficult to understand why such an item received on 31 "yes" votes. In comparing the item about speaking in class for or against the war in Vietnam, the percentages are about the same as in the sixth grade. However, there are more "no's" on the item about speaking about candidates than about attitudes on the war. All other responses are similar to those of the sixth grade teachers. One may assume that bringing into class conflicting views is not appropriate to the teacher of the fifth and sixth grades.

Response from Fourth Grade Teachers

Approximately 170 fourth grade teachers responded to this part of the questionnaire. (See Table 20) Again, the item which received more than 50 per cent of the teachers' approval was the item on "balanced" periodicals. On almost every other item the comparison between the fourth and fifth grade and sixth grade teachers was similar except that

TABLE 20

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED
ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

FOURTH GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	10	5.81	54	31.39	108	62.79
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	18	10.58	55	32.35	97	57.05
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	94	55.29	26	15.29	50	29.41
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	26	15.38	87	51.47	56	33.13
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	48	28.07	94	54.97	29	16.95
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	17	10.05	101	59.76	51	30.17
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	20	11.76	98	57.64	52	30.58
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	10	5.95	90	53.57	68	40.47
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	4	2.35	100	58.82	66	38.82
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	4	2.39	101	60.47	62	37.12
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	22	12.79	122	70.93	28	16.27

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.
** Not applicable for other reasons.

fourth grade teachers recorded a smaller percentage of "not applicables" in every category. Once more the most positive "no" vote was on telling the class how the teacher felt about a particular candidate for public office.

Response from Third Grade Teachers

One hundred seventy-nine third grade teachers responded to this part of the questionnaire. (See Table 21.) The response was almost identical to every item on the fourth grade scale except there were fewer no's and more "not applicables" on the items involving bringing national and local speakers to the classroom. Once more the most positive "no" vote was on telling the class how the teacher felt about a particular candidate.

Response from Second Grade Teachers

Although 154 second grade teachers responded to the entire questionnaire, only 149 responded to this part of the survey. On items one through five, the percentages of responses are almost identical to those of the teachers in the grades so far described. However, beginning with the item on speaking in class for busing students to achieve better integration and for or against socialism, the "not applicable" response was greater and there were less "no" votes. One of the most interesting responses of the second grade teacher is that he doubled the percentage of "yes" votes on expressing his feelings to the class about a particular candidate. (See Table 22.) These figures suggest an hypothesis in line with Hess and Torney's finding that

TABLE 21

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

THIRD GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	13	7.26	32	17.87	134	74.86
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	19	10.61	33	18.43	127	70.94
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	75	41.89	23	12.84	81	45.25
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	20	11.49	73	41.95	81	46.55
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	26	14.68	99	55.93	52	29.37
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	16	9.09	98	55.68	62	35.22
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	14	7.86	101	50.74	63	35.39
8. Allow distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	9	5.26	89	52.04	73	42.69
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	2	1.17	96	56.47	72	42.35
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	3	1.75	97	56.72	71	41.52
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	7	4.02	121	69.54	46	26.43

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.

** Not applicable for other reasons.

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE SECOND GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	14	9.65	9	6.20	122	84.13
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	17	11.64	11	7.53	118	80.82
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	53	35.57	10	6.71	86	57.71
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	20	13.60	41	27.89	86	58.50
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	22	14.86	59	39.86	67	45.27
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	8	5.44	57	38.77	82	55.78
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	5	3.44	55	37.93	85	58.62
8. Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	5	3.44	48	33.10	92	63.44
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	1	.69	55	38.19	88	61.11
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	0	0.00	55	38.19	89	61.80
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	12	8.27	63	43.44	70	48.27

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.

** Not applicable for other reasons.

students in the second grade identify with personalities and not with political roles. This hypothesis is that the receptivity of second graders to political personalities is such that they may demand from the teacher his point of view. The teacher may not feel that he is indoctrinating his students since reasons for his preference may not be given and role perception is not stressed. This hypothesis would be interesting to test in an interview.

Response from First Grade Teachers

Out of 239 first grade teachers surveyed, 231 answered this part of the questionnaire. (See Table 23.) The larger number of first grade teachers may be accounted for by the fact that there are reduced class sizes at this level. Wherever possible the administrators in elementary education attempt to keep class size at the first grade level as small as possible because of the importance of teaching reading skills and general introduction to all elementary subjects. In the first grade, one might expect there are more "not applicables" than "no's"; there is also a larger percentage of "no" on speaking for a particular candidate than in the second grade. This "no" could reflect the additional fact that first grade teachers are frequently expected to give that child the first important "start" in school and any meddling with parental perogatives or with controversial issues may seem a greater risk at this level. Too, relationships with parents are close at this level and some teachers

TABLE 23

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS SAMPLED ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE

FIRST GRADE TEACHERS

TEACHER ACTIVITY*	YES		NO		N/A**	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	11	4.80	15	6.55	203	88.64
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	15	6.52	14	6.80	201	87.39
3. Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a balanced view on current affairs.	61	26.40	12	5.19	158	68.39
4. Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	29	12.83	33	14.60	164	72.56
5. Speak in class for or against the Vietnam war.	31	9.25	73	32.15	123	54.18
6. Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	19	8.33	78	34.21	131	57.45
7. Speak in class for or against socialism.	9	3.94	78	34.21	141	61.84
8. Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	5	2.20	70	30.83	152	66.96
9. Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your class.	2	.88	78	34.36	147	64.75
10. Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	3	1.31	74	32.31	152	66.37
11. Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	12	5.35	92	41.07	120	53.57

* Assuming applicable for age group, maturity or ability of students.

** Not applicable for other reasons.

may not wish to alienate parents of another party faith by displaying their own. This also is an hypothesis which could best be tested in an interview with first grade teachers. No one item received more than a 50 per cent "yes" answer, including bringing in speakers with differing opinions on local issues. Only 15 first grade teachers would consider doing so, despite the fact that the first grade frequently studies the community, but the words, "differing opinions," may be the reason for this response. First graders may be too immature to handle matters of differing opinions.

Acceptance of Null Hypothesis I

In attempting to analyze the data and statistics relating to the first hypothesis of this study, namely that the values a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale affect the teacher's risk taking in handling controversial matters, one must divide the answer into two parts: (1) the handling of controversial issues in the classroom which is reflected by the tables already summarized above; and (2) the teacher's handling of controversial matters in his community and in education politics, which is reflected by cross tabulating the responses to the McClosky Scale to the Teacher Risk Scale and to the scale measuring political activity in the community and in education politics. (See Table 13, page 64, and Table 24.)

The statistical level of significance in comparing the Teacher Activity Scale to the McClosky Scale indicates little

TABLE 24

CROSS TABULATION OF TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, McCLOSKY SCALE AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

McCLOSKY SCALE*	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	9	8.10	22	19.81	53	47.74	24	21.62	3	2.70
Moderate Liberal	0	0.00	1	10.00	4	40.00	3	30.00	2	20.00
Conservative	0	0.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00
Extreme Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

McCLOSKY SCALE*	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		ACTIVE		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	1	.50	24	12.12	99	50.00	62	31.31	12	6.06
Moderate Liberal	0	0.00	3	9.37	12	37.50	12	37.50	5	15.62
Conservative	0	0.00	2	40.00	1	20.00	0	0.00	2	40.00
Extreme Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	100.00	0.	0.00	0	0.00

Table continued...

* See footnote at the end of this table.

TABLE 24 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

McCLOSKY SCALE*	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	1	.24	23	5.56	169	40.92	181	43.82	39	9.44
Moderate Liberal	0	0.00	5	8.33	24	40.00	24	40.00	7	11.66
Conservative	0	0.00	2	9.52	10	47.61	8	38.09	1	4.76
Extreme Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

McCLOSKY SCALE*	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	3	.78	16	4.21	80	21.05	177	46.57	104	27.36
Moderate Liberal	1	1.53	0	0.00	15	23.07	29	44.61	20	30.76
Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	16.66	4	33.33	6	50.00
Extreme Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	100.00

* See Table 7. Respondents grouped, according to response, as follows:
Liberal: 0 to 2 agreements out of 9 statements (total 1149)
Moderate Liberal: 3 to 4 agreements out of 9 statements (total 172)
Conservative: 5 to 6 agreements out of 9 statements (total 41)
Extreme Conservative: 7 to 8 agreements out of 9 statements (total 8)

if any relationship. Thus the null hypothesis is accepted. The McClosky Scale in relationship to the Teacher Risk Scale indicates almost a perfect degree of relationship. Thus the null hypothesis is rejected.

In comparing the Teacher Risk Scale with total scores with each item on the Teacher Activity Scale several points of comparison should be noted. (See Table 14, page 65 ff.) For example, a .0036 error of probability exists between the answers on the Teacher Risk Scale and the willingness to use periodicals which give a particular point of view. This relationship is such that teachers who are willing to take more risks are more willing to use such periodicals. The probability of error figure for the item of speaking about the war in Vietnam is .0000, indicating that again the teachers willing to take greater risks will risk speaking for or against the war. The same is true of the item on speaking in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration. Here the probability of error is .0078. What is of particular interest is that whereas there is a low degree of relationship between allowing Birch Society literature and teacher risk (P = .3720) and allowing distribution of anti-communist literature (P = .3982) there is a high degree of relationship between teacher risk and the distribution of black militant or third world literature (P = .0034) and speaking in class for or against a particular candidate (P = .0081). It is conceivable that the difference here might be that liberals who feel free to give out third world literature may feel that giving out anti-communist literature is not a good idea, which would appear to negate their true liberalism. On the other hand conservatives are probably more willing to give out anti-communist literature or to give out none at all. These conditions produce a high degree of probability of error. Thus, in summary, one may say that a high level of relationship does exist between the McClosky Scale and teacher risk-taking outside the classroom. Inside the classroom teachers are apparently motivated by factors other than their basic liberal and conservative attitudes, or are not as liberal or conservative as they perceived.

Acceptance of Null Hypothesis II

The second hypothesis, that the values a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale affects the teacher's choice of subject matter and materials in discussing the political system, has been proved null and void. The literature in the field of educational sociology and teacher education points out almost conclusively, as noted in the earlier chapter in this study, that teachers avoid conflict and do not teach the realities of the political world despite their own liberal or conservative views. (See Table 11, page 60 ff.)

Acceptance of Null Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis, that the values a teacher holds on a conservative-liberal scale will affect the role perception the teacher has regarding his actual participation in both education and community politics, was tested in many cross tabulations.

It must be reiterated that the McClosky Scale does not measure political beliefs or determine political affiliation. Perhaps this is one reason why young people today are confused by party labels. They do not understand that one party is not all conservative and the other all liberal. Political activity is not the sole possession of either conservatives or liberals, thus political activity cannot be measured by degree of conservatism or liberalism. Rather, the frequency distributions on the questions which purport to measure the degree of political activity in the community and in education politics is sufficient to give an indication of the degree of political activity, and the totals on the McClosky Scale indicate that there is no relationship to the values held on the McClosky Scale and to political activity. (See Table 24.) The values that a teacher has will affect his risk-taking in the community and in education politics but it will not necessarily affect his actual participation in political activity in the community. (See Table 25.)

Rejection of Null Hypothesis IV

The fourth hypothesis, that the age of the teacher and years of teaching experience are directly related to the degree of political socialization attained by the teacher, was worked out by cross tabulations. (See Tables 26 through 29.)

TABLE 25

CROSS TABULATION OF TEACHERS' SELF-CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO EDUCATION PRINCIPLES AND THE McCLOSKY SCALE

SELF-CLASSIFICATION
ACCORDING TO EDUCATION PRINCIPLES

McCLOSKY SCALE*	Ultra Liberal		Moderately Liberal		Moderate		Moderately Conservative		Traditional Conservative	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Liberal	36	3.20	430	38.29	408	36.33	219	19.50	30	2.67
Moderate Liberal	3	1.80	24	14.45	72	43.37	54	32.53	13	7.83
Conservative	0	0.00	9	21.95	17	41.46	11	26.82	4	9.75
Extreme Conservative	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	25.00	2	25.00	4	50.00

P = .0000

* See Table 7. Respondents grouped, according to response, as follows:
Liberal: 0 to 2 agreements out of 9 statements (total 1149)
Moderate Liberal: 3 to 4 agreements out of 9 statements (total 172)
Conservative: 5 to 6 agreements out of 9 (total 41)
Extreme Conservative: 7 to 8 agreements out of 9 (total 8)

Note: Because the McClosky Scale does not measure specific issues, a comparison to the teacher's own estimate of where he should be placed on the conservative-liberal scale regarding education principles was made.

TABLE 26

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, AGE, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE GROUPS	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	7	7.14	18	18.36	46	46.93	22	22.44	5	5.10
40 - 69 years	2	8.33	5	20.83	11	45.83	5	20.83	1	4.16

P = .9945

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE GROUPS	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	1	.53	24	12.90	93	50.00	55	29.56	13	6.98
40 - 69 years	0	0.00	5	10.41	20	41.66	17	35.41	6	12.50

P = .5866

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE GROUPS	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	1	.27	17	4.64	145	39.61	168	45.90	35	9.56
40 - 69 years	0	0.00	13	10.00	59	45.38	46	35.38	12	9.23

P = .0860

Table continued...

TABLE 26 (continued)

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE GROUPS	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20-39 years	3	.74	14	3.48	82	20.39	187	46.51	116	28.85
40-69 years	1	1.78	2	3.57	14	25.00	22	39.28	17	30.35

P = .7916

TABLE 27

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, TEACHING EXPERIENCE, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TEACHING EXPERIENCE Number of Years in State	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 15 years	7	8.04	13	14.94	43	49.42	19	21.83	5	5.74
16 or more years	1	2.94	11	32.35	13	38.23	8	23.52	1	2.94

P = .2158

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TEACHING EXPERIENCE Number of Years in State	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 15 years	1	.56	20	11.23	86	48.31	61	34.26	10	5.61
16 or more years	0	0.00	9	16.66	26	48.14	11	20.37	8	14.81

P = .0785

Table continued...

TABLE 27 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TEACHING EXPERIENCE Number of Years in State	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 15 years	1	.27	21	5.55	146	38.62	175	48.14	35	9.25
16 or more years	0	0.00	8	7.27	56	50.91	34	30.91	12	10.91

P = .0669

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TEACHING EXPERIENCE Number of Years in State	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0 to 15 years	3	.73	14	3.42	87	21.27	189	46.21	116	28.36
16 or more years	1	2.08	2	4.16	10	20.83	19	39.58	16	33.33

P = .7844

TABLE 28

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS FOR PERSONS TEACHING IN STATE 0 TO FIFTEEN YEARS BETWEEN ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, AGE, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	7	8.86	12	15.18	39	49.36	17	21.51	4	5.06
40 or older	0	0.00	1	12.50	4	50.00	2	25.00	1	12.50

P = *

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	1	.64	18	11.53	77	49.35	51	32.69	9	5.76
40 or older	0	0.00	2	9.52	9	42.85	9	42.85	1	4.76

P = *

Table continued...

* Chi Square test not possible to perform.

TABLE 28 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	1	.31	15	4.67	124	38.62	149	46.41	32	9.96
40 or older	0	0.00	6	10.52	22	38.59	26	45.61	3	5.26

P = .3643

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	3	.80	13	3.46	76	20.26	177	47.20	106	28.26
40 or older	0	0.00	1	3.03	10	30.30	12	36.36	10	30.30

P = .6403

TABLE 29

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS FOR PERSONS TEACHING IN STATE SIXTEEN OR MORE YEARS BETWEEN ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION AGE, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	0	0.00	6	33.33	6	33.33	5	27.77	1	5.55
40 or older	1	6.66	4	26.66	7	46.66	3	20.00	0	0.00

P = *

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 years	0	0.00	6	20.68	16	55.17	4	13.79	3	10.34
40 or older	0	0.00	3	12.50	10	41.66	6	25.00	5	20.83

P = *

Table continued...

* Chi Square test not possible to perform.

TABLE 29 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

AGE	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 YEARS	0	0.00	1	2.38	21	50.00	17	40.47	3	7.14
40 or Older	0	0.00	7	10.29	35	51.47	17	25.00	9	13.23

P = *

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

	ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		SELDOM ACTIVE		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 - 39 Years	0	0.00	1	4.00	6	24.00	9	36.00	9	36.00
40 or Older	1	4.54	1	4.54	4	18.18	9	40.90	7	31.81

P = *

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* Chi Square test not possible to perform.

The degree of socialization was determined from the figures obtained from the answers to the questions as to the amount of political activity the teacher engages in both in the community and in education politics. (See Table 4, page 51.) In no way is this figure a symbol of complete socialization. The age of the teacher and the years of experience should by necessity be closely related except in rare cases where a teacher entered into the profession late or where a teacher entered and then returned after a lapse of time.

A cross tabulation was made between the age of the teacher, his degree of political activity and years of experience in the state. (See Tables 28 and 29.) For those teachers who are active in education politics, age is significant. Older teachers are more active in politics, and less likely to be inactive. Many of the moderately active teachers in the older age group are inactive in community politics, and surprisingly, a good many are active in community politics. Of the older age group those who have taught over 16 years in the state, and are inactive in education politics, are more inclined to be active and moderately active in the community.

It can be concluded that until the level of teaching experience is over 16 years, and the age group obviously older, a teacher will not be politically active. When making a simple cross tabulation between years of experience and amount of political activity, there is a greater relationship between experience and the person who is moderately active in education politics. Thus, one may conclude experience is more significant than age in determing degree of relationship with political activity. This fact supports the findings in general political socialization literature that older persons do participate more and have a higher stake in their community than do younger persons.

Rejection of Null Hypothesis V

The fifth hypothesis, that the teacher education institution attended by the teacher is directly related to the teacher's role perception of his degree of political socialization in the community and his activities in the classroom, was examined by making several cross tabulations. (See Tables 30 through 34.) A relationship exists between the dates a teacher attended graduate school and the amount of political activity in the community in which he engages. (See Table 30.) Apparently those who were inactive in the earliest years are still inactive now. This relationship is high in two other areas relating to graduate school. Teachers attending teacher education institutions in metropolitan areas are more likely to undertake more of the teacher activities described in the questionnaire. (See Table 31.) It is not surprising to find a simple relationship between years of attending graduate school and the number of teacher activities engaged in. (See Table 32.) Those who attended graduate

TABLE 30

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, YEARS IN ATTENDANCE AT GRADUATE INSTITUTION, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

YEARS ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1930 - 1959	3	6.25	13	27.08	18	37.50	10	20.83	4	8.33
1960 to present	10	7.69	26	20.00	62	47.69	29	22.30	3	2.30

P = .2888

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

YEARS ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1930 - 1959	0	0.00	14	15.05	41	44.08	27	29.03	11	11.82
1960 to present	1	.46	23	10.79	112	52.58	65	30.51	12	5.63

P = .2229

Table continued...

TABLE 30 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

YEARS ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1930 - 1959	1	.57	19	10.98	72	41.61	64	36.99	17	9.82
1960 to present	2	.56	24	6.74	165	46.34	116	32.58	49	13.76

P = .2604

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

YEARS ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		SELDOM Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1930 - 1959	1	1.25	2	2.50	19	23.75	33	41.25	25	31.25
1960 to present	4	.90	16	3.61	78	17.64	202	45.70	142	32.12

P = .7384

TABLE 31

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, REGION OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION IN:	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Urban Area	5	12.50	11	27.50	15	37.50	8	20.00	1	2.50
Rural Area	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00
Metropolitan Area	4	5.71	11	15.71	35	50.00	17	24.28	3	4.28

P = *

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION IN:	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Urban Area	1	1.25	9	11.25	38	47.50	24	30.00	8	10.00
Rural Area	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00
Metropolitan Area	0	0.00	20	15.15	64	48.48	39	29.54	9	6.81

P = .8919

* Chi Square Test not possible to perform.

Table continued...

TABLE 31 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION IN:	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Urban Area	0	0.00	6	4.51	50	37.59	62	46.61	15	11.27
Rural Area	0	0.00	1	10.00	4	40.00	5	50.00	0	0.00
Metropolitan Area	1	.35	17	6.00	126	44.52	113	39.92	26	9.18

P =.7849

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

ATTENDED GRADUATE INSTITUTION IN:	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Urban Area	3	2.72	1	.90	22	20.00	45	40.90	39	35.45
Rural Area	0	0.00	2	40.00	0	0.00	2	40.00	1	20.00
Metropolitan Area	1	.36	11	4.01	58	21.16	129	47.08	75	27.37

P = .0006

TABLE 32

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SCORE ON TEACHER ACTIVITIES SCALE AND REGION OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION AND YEARS IN ATTENDANCE AT GRADUATE INSTITUTION

Attended Graduate Institution in:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES* Total number who would do: None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Urban area (2500 to 50,000 population)	150	40.10	97	25.93	47	12.56	28	7.48	52	13.90
Rural area (less than 2500)	2	10.00	7	35.00	3	15.00	6	30.00	2	10.00
Metropolitan area (50,000 and over)	328	41.57	183	23.19	110	13.94	63	7.98	105	13.30
	P = .0151									
Years Attended Graduate Institution										
1930 - 1959	192	47.52	107	26.48	48	11.88	23	5.69	34	8.41
1960 to present	489	38.77	316	25.05	165	13.08	111	8.80	180	14.27
	P = .0016									

* See Table 10.

TABLE 33

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT

DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ORIENTATION						
	As Undergraduate Student:					
As Graduate Student:	Highly Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly Active	7	29.16	12	50.00	5	20.83
Moderately Active	10	2.78	190	52.92	159	44.28
Seldom Active	4	.47	87	10.35	749	89.16

P = .0000

TABLE 34

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN GRADUATE INSTITUTION, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE POLITICALLY ACTIVE WHILE IN GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly Active	2	28.47	4	57.14	1	14.28	0	0.00	0	0.00
Moderately Active	4	8.33	12	25.00	23	47.91	8	16.66	1	2.08
Seldom Active	2	3.27	7	11.47	31	50.81	18	29.50	3	4.91

P = .0107

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE POLITICALLY ACTIVE WHILE IN GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly Active	0	0.00	7	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Moderately Active	1	1.26	15	18.98	46	58.22	14	17.72	3	3.79
Seldom Active	0	0.00	6	4.37	63	45.98	53	38.68	15	10.94

P = *

* Chi Square test not possible to perform

Table continued...

TABLE 34 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE POLITICALLY ACTIVE WHILE IN GRADUATE INSTITUTION	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
			Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly Active	0	0.00	2	40.00	1	20.00	2	40.00	0	0.00
Moderately Active	1	.72	12	8.75	71	51.82	47	34.30	6	4.37
Seldom Active	0	0.00	15	4.93	111	36.51	139	45.72	39	12.82

P = .0005

PERSONS SLEDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE POLITICALLY ACTIVE WHILE IN GRADUATE INSTITUTION			ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY							
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly Active	2	50.00	0	0.00	2	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Moderately Active	2	2.40	11	13.25	30	36.14	28	33.73	12	14.45
Seldom Active	0	0.00	4	1.29	47	15.16	150	48.38	109	35.16

P = .0000

school in later years undertake more of the eleven activities from the teacher activity scale.

Rejection of Null Hypothesis VI

In comparing the amount of political activity engaged in during graduate years with undergraduate years there is a distinct relationship. (See Table 33.) This fact may lead one to believe that if a student participates early in political activities on campus he will continue to do so throughout his graduate years. Another factor of more importance to this study is that the amount of graduate and undergraduate activity engaged in is directly related to the score on the teacher activity scale. There is a relationship to the sixth hypothesis that the teacher's role in recent events of campus unrest or the teacher's degree of knowledge of student unrest is directly related to the role perceived by the teacher as to the degree of political activity permissible in the classroom and in the community. (See Tables 35, 36 and 37.) The comparison between the answers on the teachers response to degree of knowledge of student unrest, either direct or indirect, with the Teacher Risk Scale and Teacher Activity Scale, shows a relationship. Thus one may surmise that a teacher interested in and involved in the affairs of campus dissatisfaction today may be depended upon to participate actively in the affairs of teacher dissatisfaction and will involve his students in activities relating to current problems.

TABLE 35

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, DEGREE ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Very Well Acquainted	7	20.58	7	20.58	16	47.05	4	11.76	0	0.00
Moderately Acquainted	1	1.28	15	19.23	39	50.00	19	24.35	4	5.12
Very Little Acquainted	1	12.50	1	12.50	1	12.50	3	37.50	2	25.00

P = .0018

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Very Well Acquainted	0	0.00	12	22.64	22	41.50	15	28.30	4	7.54
Moderately Acquainted	1	.60	15	9.09	84	50.90	53	32.12	12	7.27
Very Little Acquainted	0	0.00	1	5.55	8	44.44	6	33.33	3	16.66

P = .2589

Table continued...

TABLE 35 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Very Well Acquainted	0	0.00	11	12.64	43	49.42	24	27.58	9	10.34
Moderately Acquainted	1	.28	17	4.85	138	39.42	162	46.28	32	9.14
Very Little Acquainted	0	0.00	1	1.78	23	41.07	26	46.42	6	10.71

P = .0066

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

DEGREE ACQUAINTED WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Very Well Acquainted	2	2.43	7	8.53	24	29.26	34	41.46	15	18.29
Moderately Acquainted	2	.71	8	2.84	59	20.99	136	48.39	76	27.04
Very Little Acquainted	0	0.00	1	1.08	13	14.13	37	40.21	41	44.56

P = .0007

TABLE 36

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SCORE ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDENT, AND ACQUAINTANCE WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST

Degree of political activity and orientation as undergraduate student:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES * Total number who would do:									
	None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly active	6	27.27	1	4.54	6	27.27	3	13.63	6	27.27
Moderately active	99	31.03	83	26.01	46	14.42	31	9.71	60	18.80
Seldom active	458	45.21	251	24.77	125	12.33	74	7.30	105	10.36
	P = .0000									
Degree of political activity and orientation as graduate student:										
Highly active	5	20.83	6	25.00	4	16.66	1	4.16	8	33.33
Moderately active	110	30.64	86	23.95	58	16.15	42	11.69	63	17.54
Seldom active	377	44.88	212	25.23	101	12.02	58	6.90	92	10.95
	P = .0000									
Degree acquainted with current campus unrest:										
Very well acquainted	85	32.44	61	23.28	42	16.03	25	9.54	49	18.70
Moderately acquainted	382	42.20	228	25.19	116	12.81	72	7.95	107	11.82
Little acquainted	95	51.07	45	24.19	20	10.75	10	5.37	16	8.60

P = .0020

* See Table 10.

TABLE 37

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SCORE ON TEACHER RISK SCALE AND DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS A GRADUATE STUDENT AND ACQUAINTANCE WITH CURRENT CAMPUS UNREST

Degree of political activity and orientation as a graduate student.	TEACHERS RISKS * Total number who would do:							
	0 to 4 Risk Activities		5 to 6		7 to 8		All 9	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Highly active	3	12.50	3	12.50	12	50.00	6	25.00
Moderately active	92	25.62	85	23.67	114	31.75	68	18.94
Seldom active	280	33.33	223	26.54	196	23.33	141	16.78
	P = .0010							
Degree acquainted with current campus unrest.								
Very well acquainted	63	24.04	61	23.28	90	34.35	48	18.32
Moderately acquainted	145	18.73	244	31.52	229	29.58	156	20.15
Little acquainted	69	37.09	45	24.19	43	23.11	29	15.59

P = .0000

* See Table 12.

A hypothesis expressed earlier regarding the teachers' degree of participation in the community in relationship to his graduate training and teacher education cannot be validated by the data from this questionnaire. While there does seem to be a direct relationship to the Teacher Risk Scale and the Teacher Activity Scale, there is little degree of relationship to the amount of political activity engaged in in the community. (See Tables 38 and 39.) The difference between training in a state college, state university or other type of training institution has little if any relationship whether in-state or out of state.

Rejection of Null Hypothesis VII

The seventh hypothesis that the size of the school district and its policies or lack of policies concerning the teaching of controversial issues affect the degree of classroom activity which the teacher perceives to be permissible, is of particular interest. There is a direct relationship between the size of the school district and the score on the teacher activity scale. (See Table 40). It may be concluded that the larger the school district the more activities relating to matters of political concern will be undertaken. Whether or not a district has a formal speakers policy or policy of teaching controversial issues is not apparently as important to the teacher's feeling that he is encouraged to undertake the teaching of controversial

TABLE 38

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED, AND ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY

PERSONS VERY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In-State:										
State college	4	5.55	13	18.05	33	45.83	19	26.38	3	4.16
State university	0	0.00	8	25.00	14	43.75	9	28.12	1	3.12
Other	6	11.32	13	24.52	19	35.84	15	28.30	0	0.00
P = .5538										
Out-of-State:										
State college	0	0.00	2	40.00	2	40.00	1	20.00	0	0.00
State university	1	6.25	2	12.50	7	43.75	4	25.00	2	12.50
Other	1	14.28	1	14.28	5	71.42	0	0.00	0	0.00

P = *

PERSONS ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In-State:										
State college	0	0.00	17	13.49	64	50.79	33	26.19	12	9.52
State university	0	0.00	8	12.69	31	49.20	22	34.92	2	3.17
Other	0	0.00	10	10.52	48	50.52	32	33.68	5	5.26
P = *										
Out-of-State:										
State college	0	0.00	1	11.11	4	44.44	3	33.33	1	11.11
State university	1	4.54	1	4.54	12	54.54	8	36.36	0	0.00
Other	0	0.00	1	3.12	15	46.87	12	37.50	4	12.50

P = *

Table continued...

TABLE 38 (continued)

PERSONS MODERATELY ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In-State:										
State college	1	.41	13	5.34	102	41.97	101	41.56	26	10.69
State university	1	.76	15	11.45	52	39.69	47	35.87	16	12.21
Other	1	.54	14	7.65	71	38.79	81	44.26	16	8.74
P = .5457										
Out-of-State:										
State college	0	0.00	2	10.00	9	45.00	7	35.00	2	10.00
State university	0	0.00	2	3.12	27	42.18	26	40.62	9	14.06
Other	0	0.00	5	11.11	18	40.00	21	46.66	1	2.22

P = *

PERSONS SELDOM ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED	ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY									
	Very Active		Active		Moderately Active		Seldom Active		Never Active	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In-State:										
State college	2	1.00	9	4.52	44	22.11	86	43.21	58	29.14
State university	1	1.04	7	7.29	17	1.77	46	47.91	25	26.04
Other	1	.64	3	1.94	34	22.07	72	46.75	44	28.57
Out-of-State: P = .7008										
State college	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	14.28	9	64.28	3	21.42
State university	1	3.44	1	3.44	6	20.68	14	48.27	7	24.13
Other	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	17.85	12	42.85	11	39.28

P = *

* Chi Square Test not possible to perform.

TABLE 39

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SCORE ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND TYPE OF GRADUATE INSTITUTION ATTENDED

Type of graduate institution attended	TEACHER ACTIVITIES* Total number who would do:									
	None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In-State:										
State college	272	41.21	171	25.90	94	14.24	49	7.42	74	11.21
State university	138	40.70	93	27.43	40	11.79	25	7.37	43	12.68
Other	222	43.02	112	21.70	66	12.79	41	7.94	75	14.53
	P = .5009									
Out-of-State:										
State college	18	36.00	12	24.00	11	22.00	1	2.00	8	16.00
State university	52	39.39	30	22.72	19	14.39	10	7.57	21	15.90
Other	52	42.27	39	31.70	15	12.19	5	4.06	12	9.75
	P = .2971									

* See Table 10.

TABLE 40

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED AND SCORES ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND TEACHER RISK SCALE

SIZE OF DISTRICT IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED:	TEACHER ACTIVITIES * Total number who would do: None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
25,000 and over	199	56.69	11	3.13	62	17.66	29	8.26	50	14.24
10,000 to 24,999	137	38.59	90	25.35	45	12.67	33	9.29	50	14.08
4,000 to 9,999	114	46.15	56	22.67	27	10.93	18	7.28	32	12.95
3,999 and under	97	37.30	69	26.53	34	13.07	22	8.46	38	14.61

P = .0000

SIZE OF DISTRICT IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED:	TEACHER RISKS ** Total number who would do: 0 to 4 Risk Activities		5 to 6		7 to 8		All 9	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
25,000 and over	130	28.82	94	20.84	119	26.38	108	23.94
10,000 to 24,999	107	30.14	104	29.29	89	25.07	55	15.49
4,000 to 9,999	79	31.98	68	27.53	63	25.50	37	14.97
3,999 and under	75	28.84	74	28.46	81	31.15	30	11.53

P = .0000

* See Table 10.

** See Table 12.

issues. (See Tables 41 and 42.) It is conceivable that a formal policy on speakers and controversial issues may actually hinder teachers from bringing in outside guests because of red tape and planning. In one school, the teacher had to get permission from the superintendent and approval from the school board to allow the Lieutenant Governor to speak to the student body following an address he was to give at a Rotary luncheon.[1] Such policies can be very intimidating in districts which are trying to bring the community and the school closer. On the other hand, speakers policies and controversial issues policies, if wisely drawn, can be an asset when school critics have to explain their charges and be responsible for criticism made.[2]

For purposes of comparison teachers were asked to designate the area in which they taught. The CTA is divided into a Bay Section, a Central Section, a Central Coast Section, a North Coast Section, a Northern Section and a Southern Section. A table was set up to compare the teacher activity in the classroom in each geographic area. (See Table 43.) No clear relationship was evident. However, when comparing Teacher Risk-Taking to geographical area, a significant relationship is found between what the teacher perceives he can do in the community and where he teaches. Conceivably a teacher in the Bay Area or in the Southern Section feels more protected by his professional organization than do teachers in more isolated areas of the state.

TABLE 41

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN
SCORE ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES POLICIES
IN SCHOOL DISTRICT IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED

District has policy on teaching controversial issues.	TEACHER ACTIVITIES * Total number who would do:									
	None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	226	37.29	155	25.57	90	14.85	51	8.41	84	13.86
No	252	43.00	142	24.23	69	11.77	45	7.67	78	13.31
	P = .2851									
District policy encourages teaching controversial issues.										
Yes	80	38.09	44	20.95	27	12.85	19	9.04	40	19.04
No	174	37.25	119	25.48	74	15.84	39	8.35	61	13.06
	P = .2232									
District has formal policy on speakers in the classroom.										
Yes	135	34.88	96	24.80	57	14.72	41	10.59	58	14.98
No	313	41.67	184	24.50	100	13.31	56	7.45	98	13.04
	P = .1344									

* See Table 10.

TABLE 42

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN SCORE ON TEACHER RISK SCALE AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES POLICIES IN SCHOOL DISTRICT IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED

District has policy on teaching controversial issues.	TEACHER RISKS* Total number who would do: 0 to 4 Risk Activities		5 to 6		7 to 8		All 9	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	192	31.68	156	25.74	160	26.40	98	16.17
No	162	27.64	164	27.98	156	26.62	104	17.74
	P = .5461							
District policy encourages teaching controversial issues.								
Yes	48	22.85	54	25.71	68	32.38	40	19.04
No	167	35.76	119	25.48	110	23.55	71	15.20
	P = .0048							
District has formal policy on speakers in the classroom.								
Yes	109	28.16	105	27.13	109	28.16	64	16.53
No	232	30.89	204	27.16	194	25.83	121	16.11
	P = .7603							

* See Table 12.

TABLE 43

CHI SQUARE TEST OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN GEOGRAPHICAL REGION IN WHICH TEACHER IS EMPLOYED AND SCORES ON TEACHER ACTIVITY SCALE AND TEACHER RISK SCALE

CTA GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION AND TOTAL NUMBER IN EACH		TEACHER ACTIVITIES * Total number who would do: None of Activities		1 out of 11		2 out of 11		3 out of 11		4 or more	
Section	Number	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Bay	365	139	38.08	95	26.02	60	16.43	31	8.49	40	10.95
Central	137	58	42.33	35	25.54	17	12.40	10	7.29	17	12.40
Central Coast	42	15	35.71	9	21.42	6	14.28	5	11.90	7	16.66
North Coast	21	9	42.85	5	23.80	4	19.04	0	0.00	3	14.28
Northern	86	40	46.51	17	19.76	7	8.13	9	10.46	13	15.11
Southern	694	294	42.36	173	24.92	84	12.10	53	7.63	90	12.96

P = .8027

		TEACHER RISKS ** Total number who would do: 0 to 4 Risk Activities		5 to 6		7 to 8		All 9	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Bay	365	100	27.39	91	24.93	103	28.21	71	19.45
Central	137	53	38.68	40	29.19	32	23.35	12	8.75
Central Coast	42	16	38.09	7	16.66	12	28.57	7	16.66
North Coast	21	7	33.33	7	33.33	5	23.80	2	9.52
Northern	91	19	20.87	24	26.37	36	39.56	12	13.18
Southern	694	211	30.40	184	26.51	172	24.78	127	18.29

P = .0312

* See Table 10.
** See Table 12.

Of great interest to the teacher educators and to the major purpose of this study is the way in which the teachers responded to the scale set up based upon the Litt models of teaching civic education. (See Table 44.) These questions test how a teacher feels about each of the eight statements and there is no limit as to how many agreements can be made. The responses of the teachers confirm what Hess and Torney, Easton and Dennis have said about the absence of conflict in the elementary school curriculum and the duties, rights and obligations of citizenship are the primary goals of citizenship training. It is apparent that the second model stressed by Litt is the most popular as most teachers agree that harmony and political compromise are fundamental values and that harmony of community interests should be stressed rather than group conflict. In addition to this belief the overwhelming support is for law and order, and the emphasis is on teaching the rights, duties and obligations of citizens. If this is true, then one must realize the impact of such a statement, namely, that change is not a part of the socialization process in the present educational structure. At the same time, teachers contradicted themselves by saying that it was not as important to socialize the child to the prevailing political order as it was to teach the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship. One explanation may be that the teachers may have viewed the prevailing political order negatively, for example "the Chicago Convention." It is strange that there would be

TABLE 44

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGREEMENT WITH MODELS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

	STRONGLY AGREE		TEND TO AGREE		TEND TO DISAGREE		STRONGLY DISAGREE		NO OPINION	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Harmony and political compromise are fundamental values which should be learned in school.	320	23.4	618	45.1	212	15.5	75	5.5	68	5.0
It is important that the schools teach a harmony of a community of interests, rather than to stress group conflicts.	443	32.3	576	42.0	202	14.7	39	2.8	55	4.0
It is important that the schools help students develop a fundamental consensus about specific American political and social problems.	443	32.3	537	39.2	194	14.2	90	6.6	53	3.9
It is important that the child be socialized or adjusted to the prevailing political order.	75	5.5	421	30.7	436	31.8	283	20.7	89	6.5
The rights, duties and obligations of citizens are a fundamental part of the civic education program.	1000	73.0	316	23.1	14	1.0	1	.1	10	.7
No specialized formal education in civics is necessary to teach the values inherent in the system of government.	51	3.7	156	11.4	423	30.9	673	49.1	23	1.7
Learning how to look at a problem is more important than being taught how the government functions.	369	26.9	522	38.1	251	18.3	63	4.6	77	5.6
The facts of government in today's world preclude general courses in civic education; rather, emphasis should be on the development of highly specialized skills.	34	2.5	163	11.9	571	41.7	351	25.6	171	12.5

a disagreement with this statement and not with the statement that the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship are fundamental part of the civic education program. It is possible that teachers do not see this statement as supporting the status quo but that they themselves have had such a model stressed for so long that they do not even question it. It is interesting to note the dichotomy in the last two items. The wording may cause a difference in interpretation. In the case of learning how to look at a problem as more important than being taught how the government functions, there is more than a 50 per cent agreement. Yet when the wording is changed to "the facts of government preclude courses in civic education, rather emphasis should be placed on the development of highly specialized skills" there is little agreement. In fact only 14.4 per cent agreed and 67.3 per cent disagreed. Obviously, the teachers do not perceive that "specialized skills" could include looking at a problem or dealing with a bureaucracy.

Critics of the present elementary education system, who are cited in this study, disagree with the teachers' interpretation of what are the goals of civic training. Whereas the critics stress change and skill in problem solving as a necessary part of political socialization, the teachers place emphasis upon developing harmony and consensus, a condition which rarely exists in a pluralistic society.

Summary

A random sample of 1370 teachers in California in grades one through six were sampled in April of 1971. Most teachers placed themselves as liberals on a scale based upon a definition of classic conservatism. Although they were willing to take greater part in educational politics within the district and politics within the community, they were not willing to engage in discussion of conflict and political reality in the classroom. There is a greater relationship between years of experience and the amount of political activity in which the teacher engages than mere age of the teacher. One fact is clearly evident, that the teacher who engaged in political activity while on campus or who was involved in student movements on the campus of his graduate institution is still more active in political activity than those teachers who did not participate or who know little about student unrest today. The relationship of this fact to the kinds of activities carried on in the classroom indicates that such teachers are more likely to discuss and to use materials on matters of controversy in the political arena. The size of the school district appears to affect the amount of political discussion, a larger district being more conducive to discussion of controversial matters. Most teachers still agree that harmony and political compromise are fundamental values and that harmony of community interests should be stressed rather than group conflict. The emphasis in civic education is still on the teaching of the rights, duties and obligations of citizens.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

[1] Author's experience in Paradise Unified School District regarding appearance of Lt. Governor Glenn Anderson, 1962.

[2] The Committee on Academic Freedom of the National Council for the Social Studies, *Freedom to Learn and Freedom to Teach* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1962?).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Implications of the Study

The analysis of the data of this study substantiates the work done on the role of the teacher in the political socialization of the child. As Hess and Torney and Dennis and Easton have clearly pointed out, the teacher feels his role is to teach the child respect for authority, the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship and that harmony prevails in our democratic society. The conflicts which are apparent in our society are not stressed, if even mentioned. What is necessary at this point is to suggest what may be done in the classroom and by the teacher to better meet the needs of the children in dealing with the realities of the political world. A significant change in curriculum is not achieved by teachers alone, but by teacher education institutions, subject matter specialists, professional organizations and administrators who help the community develop awareness of the need for change.

Old Models of Civic Training are Still Being Used

Old models of civic training are still being used in our public schools. Teachers in the elementary schools are still teaching about the ideal democracy and are not dealing with issues or preparing the student to look at alternatives and to develop highly specialized skills of problem solving. Curriculum materials which stress the inquiry process are available. Social science conferences held within the state have stressed the process of inquiry. For example, as early as 1966, Donald Oliver and James Shaver published a volume entitled Teaching Public Issues in the High School.[1] The rationale developed for their content selection in a high school curriculum parallels the thinking of most of the recent critics of content selection in the elementary school. It is a conclusion of this study that one need not have a separate rationale for elementary social studies and that the rationale developed by Oliver and Shaver is satisfactory for a curriculum change in civic training.

Problem of Pluralism

If one believes that a basic purpose of American government is to promote the dignity and worth of each individual[2] who lives in a society, then the concept of human dignity has two components; to protect the individuality of the person and at the same time to provide a national community to handle the common problems of the society. Thus, while the government is obligated to protect minority rights, at the same time by adopting one alternative over another, it may destroy a particular minority. Since in a pluralistic society, there is no single revealed "truth," the teacher must accept a variety of ideals and creeds as to what does protect the human dignity of the individual. How then does one promote values of pluralism and diversity on one hand and at the same time try to discover areas of commonality in attempting to resolve conflicts? Students in elementary school need to understand the nature and structure of values held to be important by diverse elements of the society.

If there is to be any cohesion or commonality in a society which deals with a multiplicity of sub-groups, then members of all sub-groups must to some extent share value commitments and a vocabulary which will allow them to deal with common problems. This commonality must include procedures for the mediation of conflict and the sharing and choosing of alternatives.

Necessity of Dealing with Conflict

It is the conclusion of this study that the elementary school social studies curriculum must deal with conflict analysis and provide a conceptual framework for the understanding of contemporary American problems. Students need to learn the kinds of problems they will encounter as they attempt to make ethical analyses of public issues. They need to recognize that they will feel uncomfortable when such inconsistencies are brought to their attention. Human beings tend to handle inconsistencies by avoiding them. This has been true of the elementary curriculum in the social studies. However, it is apparent that the elementary curriculum must be structured so that it includes a process for conflict resolution. Teaching students a rational approach to analysis of conflict should include the following concepts.

1. Assumptions are necessary and unavoidable and are frequently not recognized by others or by ourselves.

2. Language provides the basic means for thinking and communicating about public issues and therefore the understanding of the nature of words must be communicated. For different individuals words bring forth different emotions. This fact can be easily understood at the elementary level. Language problems can interfere with communication and thinking.

3. Settling disputes as to what constitutes fact is a major task in problem solving. Elementary students can be exposed to such disputed claims as to who discovered America first.

4. Each person has his own frame of reference from which he views a problem. The student should try to understand his own. He should also be taught that the teacher has his own frame of reference, and it should be the obligation of the teacher to make his frame of reference clear to the students. Teachers should express their views.

5. Students and teachers will recognize that relevance for the present is not necessarily relevance for the future. Values of one age are not necessarily the values of another age.

6. Students and teachers must learn to look at alternatives and weigh the "cost"; they must determine what values are involved and sacrificed by choosing one alternative against another. Recognition of values is basic. Evaluating and placing one value above another involves a more complex operation.

7. Tactics need to be differentiated from values.

8. Open discussion of problems will of necessity put before the student conflicting values but at the

> same time he will be able to discover shared values. Students and teachers will sometimes discover that their values are no longer valid or not applicable to a certain situation. Rather than becoming upset over such a finding, students should be taught to deal with it.

The above approach to conflict resolution is applicable to all levels of education. None of it is new; much of it is based upon the recommendations of Oliver and Shaver. What is new is a conclusion of this study: that these same approaches should be applied to the elementary level. Problems and conflicts which merge within the school room could serve as a vehicle for analysis. Interest in the Presidential election in 1972 could be the focus for a more realistic approach to politics in the upper elementary grades.

New Curriculum Ideas

Available curriculum ideas written by persons directly involved in elementary education stress concepts similar to what experts in secondary education have been saying. V. Phillips Weaver, in an article entitled "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent in the Primary Grades,"[3] gives examples of situations in the primary grades which can lead to a child's understanding of concepts vital to democracy. He stresses that young children should be involved in the formulation of classroom rules and should express themselves freely as to what kinds of rules are needed. He stresses that decisions made by children should be theirs and not those manipulated by teachers. He stresses that role playing is a legitimate means of teaching students the difference between such concepts as obedience and conformity and apathy and alienation. Role-playing can help students to clarify their values. An example of such could be a situation in which the child acts out the role of a "good" and a "bad" policeman. The teacher's role in such activities is that of a skilled questioner. An analysis of a situation portrayed by various members of the class can bring out consideration of alternatives and can enable students to become aware of their own values. Students will come to realize that conflict and dissent are central to any pluralistic society.

The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education of the American Political Science Association which was formed in the Spring of 1970 had as its purpose two general responsibilities: to provide an assessment of the discipline of political science's interrelationship with elementary and secondary education and to implement long range strategy through which resources of the discipline can be brought to bear more effectively upon the reform of political science education at the elementary and secondary levels. Implications for teacher education will also be reported by this group. No specific proposals have yet come from the group, but of particular interest to this study is the publication of Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy by Mary Jane Turner.[4]

The University of Colorado and the American Political Science Association engaged Mary Jane Turner to undertake an exhaustive survey of innovative secondary social studies curriculum materials which contain political science subject matter. Although the emphasis was upon secondary education certain elementary projects were surveyed because they were contained in a single project of K-9 or K-12, as the case may be. In substantiating the need for such a study, the American Political Science Association pointed to the results of the Education Commission of States which made a report in July of 1970 assessing the national scene in civic education.[5] The report stressed the fact that Americans are ignorant about the structure and functions of government and the strategies of effective political activity.

The University of California at Los Angeles's Committee on Civic Education undertook a project for grades 4 through 12 which stresses that American political behavior and constitutional law should be the organizer for the course in politics in all grades.[6] Tufts University has organized an elementary program around inter-group relations.[7]

Of the forty-nine projects which were examined by Mary Jane Turner, only ten included elementary materials.[8] Six similarities were analyzed in all of these curriculum projects:

1. An attempt was made to select and organize content in terms of fundamental concepts, propositions and questions that structure the inquiries of scholars in the field.

2. Instruction was more realistic and included controversial subjects, such as political aspects of race relations, the relationship of social class to political behavior and the conflict associated with social change.

3. Each of these projects had an objective of increasing student capability to organize and interpret formation.

4. Each project included attempts to teach students to make warranted factual and value judgments.

5. Students were encouraged to seek knowledge, not be the passive recipients of information from the teacher.

6. The projects are purportedly designed to influence students to value careful appraisals of ideas, to respect constructive criticism, to protect himself against indoctrination and blatant propagandists.

The report of the Political Science Advisory Panel to the Statewide Social Sciences Study Committee published in December of 1967 advanced the same ideas as stated above.[9] One section, of interest to this study, deals with the teacher and emphasizes that the social science teacher needs support from a strong intellectual community in order to overcome the prevailing feeling that the teaching of controversial issues is not sanctioned by parents.[10]

A recent statement published by Fannie R. Shaftel, an expert in elementary education, is so significant and so timely to this study that it bears reproduction. Any attempt to paraphrase it loses essence.[11]

> "The Elementary Social Studies We Need
>
> I see all around me signs of a better world that is ready to be born. The clear rejection of war as a solution to human problems, the seeking of values

other than material gain, the reaching across ancient fears of difference to a seeking of our universal humanity, are signs of hope. The real problem is whether we have the courage to be truly hopeful.

WE MUST PROJECT A SURVIVAL CURRICULUM IN THE SCHOOLS. For the past few years the major thrust of the social studies has been to improve cognitive learning, with a high focus on "structures of knowledge" in the various social sciences and the processes by which that knowledge is acquired.

No one would question the need for appropriate social science content and for the development of conceptual thinking in children and youth. However, our problem of how to survive and grow into a humane community is not so much the result of lack of available knowledge as it is first of all a crisis in values. The priorities essential to survival demand a new ordering, based upon THE VALUING OF HUMAN PROGRESS RATHER THAN MATERIAL PROGRESS.

A social studies program for young children must first of all be concerned with key aspects of child socialization. The way an individual learns his way into society is crucial to the way he will internalize social science knowledge. Does he "do his own thing?" Or does he learn to express his individuality in a "caring community" that is sensitive to the human consequences of his various actions?

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING YEARS IN SCHOOL, THE SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM SHOULD BE PROBLEM CENTERED. Social science knowledge and processes should be introduced as means to solving problems of living. This does not mean that young children should be plunged into large societal problems but rather that they start with the everyday personal-social problems that impinge upon them in their own life-space.

If this problem-solving initially is focused on problems that have meaning for him in his personal life, the child learns to use cognitive information and affective information (his feelings and values) to solve his problems. Having learned to use his feelings intelligently in personally relevant situations, he can then be helped to become concerned about the feelings of the others who are affected by his decision. He learns that problems can be coped with logically and in caring ways.

A MAJOR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON COOPERATIVE TECHNIQUES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY RATHER THAN ON COMPETITIVE

TECHNIQUES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ONESELF. In such group endeavors, which should be a persistent and developing strand in the curriculum, children and youth could be helped to progress in learning that 1) there are many differing perceptions of a problem; 2) there is more than one way to solve a problem; 3) WE LEARN THROUGH CONFRONTATION OF EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND VALUES; 4) in real dialogue, we learn by truly listening to others' views; and 5) we learn through value clarification. It is only as we make our values articulate that we are in a position to examine them and improve them.

While young children, by virtue of their immaturity, cannot utilize these cognitive-affective processes equally well on all levels of a taxonomy, they can and do in rudimentary ways cope with all of them. They cannot only use the analytic mode in their life situations, they can synthesize their knowledge with teacher guidance, and even make policy decisions providing the content is based in their life experience, or at least in concepts rooted in personal experience.

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT VALUES IN THIS APPROACH IS THAT WHEN CHILDREN FIND THAT THEY HAVE RESOURCES WITHIN THEMSELVES (THEIR LIFE EXPERIENCES) WITH WHICH TO TACKLE THE AMBIGUITY IMBEDDED IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, THEY DEVELOP A SENSE OF COMPETENCE, A FEELING OF CONTROL OVER THEIR LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES. If we can establish this sense of competence early in life, our youth may not experience the sense of hopelessness that has led many to drugs and some to violence. We should enable students to move from the "personally relevant" to the "socially relevant."

It is in this sort of linkage that I see the appropriate use of social science content for young children. I see the values component as a product of an affective-cognitive mode of study designed to cultivate feelings and values based on a continual exploration, through problem-solving processes, of the consequences of choice.

I would place in high priority the use of those child life experiences that lead to the gradually deepening exploration of the critical problems of our time as the focal content of the social studies.

I AM SUGGESTING A CURRICULUM IN THE PRIMARY GRADES THAT BEGINS WITH THE SOCIAL DILEMMAS OF CHILDREN -- THEIR INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, THEIR WANTS AND NEEDS, THE EXPLORATION OF THEIR ROLES IN HOME AND SCHOOL. FOR SIX-

> YEAR-OLDS THE STARTING POINT IS "ME," AND GRADUALLY SHIFTS TO THE I-OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.
>
> IN SIMILAR MANNER, WHAT IT MEANS TO BE DIFFERENT (PHYSICALLY, IN RACE, OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND, ETC.) CAN LEAD TO CROSS CULTURAL STUDIES OF HOW DIFFERENCES ENRICH THE WORLD, OR CULTURE AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE MANY DIFFERENT HUMAN SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING.
>
> As children in the middle grades become increasingly involved in group life, beginning with friendships and membership in small affiliative groups, this experience can become the springboard to more systematic study of group behavior. THROUGH MATERIALS THAT EXPLORE SMALL GROUP RELATIONSHIPS, CHILDREN AT EIGHT OR NINE YEARS OF AGE CAN BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP RELATIONS; CAN BE HELPED TO ACQUIRE SKILLS FOR GROUP CONTROVERSY AND PROBLEM RESOLUTION; CAN BEGIN TO STUDY THE USES OF POWER IN GROUP LIFE.
>
> What is needed is a clear commitment to the development of survival curricula--to experiences that will help children and youth to develop the capacity to care about human welfare; that will give them knowledge of the social problems to be solved and the skills for that problem solving; and that will build in them the ability to articulate and continually clarify the values basic to a humane community.

Teachers may question whether or not a school can get away with presenting conflicting or controversial views. If the community understands the rationale behind such activities and if the activities are done skillfully, it is probable that the public will support such a program.

Paramount to skillful handing of controversial issues is the teacher's ability to handle a rational analysis of public issues. It is at this point that the full circle of the education community becomes involved. First, there must be acceptance of the kind of program needed in civic training by teacher education institutions. If professors of education believe that central to the teaching of social studies is the rational analysis of current problems, then such methodology as permits such teaching must be taught. Teacher education institutions must stress and motivate teachers to be active in the political process themselves. Teachers must become involved in the process themselves. It would be ridiculous to merely give lip service to all of the above. Rather, courses in analyzing public issues should be part of the curriculum for teachers. Courses should be taught in systems analysis and maintenance. An analysis of the community in which the teacher finds a position would be possible if the teacher understood the process of community power structures.

It is hoped that teachers in training would be expected to take part in political campaigns of significance to them. It is a finding of this study that the earlier the political involvement of the teacher, the more active he will be in community politics in later years. Thus the teacher can serve as a good example of a political activist to his students. It would be expected that teachers would normally play an important role in the political party which could best serve their interests. They would exert pressure on their representatives to make quality education the top national priority. Such political pressure could result in legislation granting more money for educational research, which in turn could give us more information about how people learn.

In the interim the professional organizations of teachers could concentrate upon protecting the rights of teachers to participate actively in education and community politics. Since the child is the recipient of whatever "good" or "bad"comes from classroom activities, such an approach would in the long run benefit the child. If the political socialization process which takes place in the elementary school prepares the student for becoming an active and rational participant in his society, the evils of apathy and alienation can at least be lessened if not eventually eliminated.

Critique of Methodology

The main criticism of the methodology used in this study is that the McClosky Scale may not be as valid today because of the increasing emphasis upon change in contemporary thinking. Even though McClosky's scale does not purport to measure specific issues and should therefore be valid for any period of time, it is conceivable that the most conservative teachers would be loathe to answer that he was against change, which too many of McClosky's questions seem to indicate. For this reason it is possible that another scale be constructed or this one modified and tested.

Another problem in such a study as this was that the teachers rated themselves as to the degree of political activity they have experienced in the community and in education politics. One cannot be certain as to what construction one may place on definitions of degree or upon the meaning of "politics."

Since follow-up interviews were impossible it is not certain how teachers might have interpreted Edgar Litt's definitions of models of civic training. Error in interpretation could make a tremendous difference in the way in which a teacher might have answered a question regarding harmony and consensus or group conflict.

Recommendation for Further Research

It would be of interest to follow this study with emphasis upon specific curriculum development in the elementary social studies and in teacher education. Specifically, the following topics might be studied further:

1. Implications for professional education organizations in supportint the study of a more realistic approach to political science.
2. Implications for teacher education in the choice of students entering the teaching profession in the field of social science. Should a person who is not interested in political activity teach?
3. Development of field studies for teacher education candidates in community politics and education politics.
4. The integration of the elementary and secondary curriculum as a result of the suggestions of the American Political Science Associations' study on elementary and secondary curriculum.
5. The interrelationship of function and political behavior in the political science curriculum.
6. Additional study on the attitudes and political behavior of teachers in national, state and local elections and in professional organizational work.

Summary

The role of the teacher in the political socialization process includes choosing materials, selecting and teaching concepts which will enable the student to develop knowledge about the political functions of the individual citizen. How a citizen functions in our society is seldom taught in the elementary curriculum. Rather emphasis is on socializing the student to the present system, which implies that the schools play a conservative role in the political socialization process. Such a role is not sufficient to enable the student to deal with the problems of the modern society. Thus the entire education profession must be aware of the need for a more functional analysis and the concomitant dangers resulting from the study of controversial issues. The teacher must be an example of the citizen who participates and who understands the power structure of our society. He must be free to help the student to examine old values and to consider new ones. Such a role is inhibiting to the teacher who wishes to play it "safe." For this reason, teacher education must prepare teachers of the social sciences who are skilled practitioners in the art of politics themselves and who will feel secure in handling the kinds of issues which will permit analysis of the problems of modern society. Teachers need to feel secure and the sanction of a strong academic community as well as support for curriculum development from professional persons in legislative roles will enable the teacher to develop the kind of program which in the future will have the sanction of parents and taxpayers. Such a curriculum will enhance an awareness on the part of students to the responsibilities which they face as future voters. It is the hope of most political scientists that a curriculum based upon reality will lessen student alienation and apathy.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

[1] Donald Oliver and James Shaver, Teaching Public Issues in the High School (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966).

[2] Oliver and Shaver point out the impossibility of proving such a value as that of protecting the human dignity, or even defining it, but in so advocating such a concept there appears to be a fundamental commitment to belief in man as an end in himself.

[3] V. Phillips Weaver, "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent in the Primary Grades," Social Education, 35 (May 1971) pp. 499-502. Social Education is publishing more articles concerning the elementary teacher. The National Council of Social Studies is planning additional seminars at their conferences for elementary teachers.

[4] Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy: Political Science in the New Social Studies (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1970), passim.

[5] American Political Science Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, "Reports of American Political Science Association Committees: Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science," P S (Summer 1971) 432 - 57, p. 452 - 3.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] California State Department of Education, "Report of the Political Science Advisory Panel to the Statewide Social Science Study Committee," (Sacramento, Calif., State Department of Education, December 1967), passim.

[10] Ibid., p. 177.

[11] Fannie R. Shaftel, "The Elementary Social Studies We Need," The Social Studies Professional 17 (January 1972) p. 3 - 4.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

ROLE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER IN THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

GRADES 1-6

PART I

1. SEX:

* 290 - 21.2 Male (18 did not respond)
1062 - 77.5 Female

2. Please check which describes your racial or ethnic group:

1258 - 91.8 Caucasian
8 - .6 Chinese/America
5 - .4 Indian/American
17 - 1.2 Japanese/American
16 - 1.2 Mexican/American
42 - 3.1 Negro/American
(24 did not respond)

3. AGE:

420 - 30.7 20-29 years
347 - 25.3 30-39 years
331 - 24.2 40-49 years
222 - 16.2 50-59 years
42 - 3.1 60-69 years (8 did not respond)

4. How long have you been teaching?

In State		Out of State	
518 - 37.8	0 - 5 years	345 - 25.2	0 - 5 years
344 - 25.1	6 - 10 years	72 - 5.3	6 - 10 years
232 - 16.9	11 - 15 years	25 - 1.8	11 - 15 years
150 - 10.9	16 - 20 years	18 - 1.3	16 - 20 years
59 - 4.3	21 - 24 years	7 - .5	21 - 24 years
28 - 2.0	25 - 30 years	7 - .5	25 - 30 years
19 - 1.4	31 & over	3 - .2	31 & over

5. What type of undergraduate institution did you attend?

In State		Out of State	
12 - .9	Normal School	32 - 2.3	Normal School
580 - 42.3	State College	226 - 16.5	State College
236 - 17.2	State University	240 - 17.5	State University
166 - 12.1	Private college	161 - 11.8	Private College
101 - 7.4	Private University	89 - 6.5	Private University
23 - 1.7	other	17 - 1.2	other

* First figure indicates number of responses, the second figure indicates the percentage the number is of the total sample of 1370 respondents.

Questionnaire p. 2

6. What type of graduate teacher training institution did you attend?

In State		Out of State	
214 - 15.6	Same institution as undergraduate	38 - 2.8	Same institution as undergraduate
2 - .1	Normal School	5 - .4	Normal School
660 - 48.2	State College	50 - 3.6	State College
339 - 24.7	State University	132 - 9.6	State University
149 - 10.9	Private College	20 - 1.5	Private College
128 - 9.3	Private University	43 - 3.1	Private University
23 - 1.7	Other	7 - .5	Other

7. Was the undergraduate institution from which you received your B.A. degree in:

579 - 42.3 An Urban Area (2,500 to approximately 50,000)
57 - 4.2 Rural Area (Less than 2500 population)
708 - 51.7 Metropolitan Area (Population of a city of 50,000 or more)

8. Was the graduate institution you attended in:

374 - 27.3 An Urban Area (2,500 to approximately 50,000)
20 - 1.5 Rural Area (Less than 2,500 population)
789 - 57.6 Metropolitan Area (Population of city of 50,000 or more)

9. What years did you attend the undergraduate institution?

174 - 12.7 1930-1939
312 - 22.8 1940-1949
456 - 33.3 1950-1959
618 - 45.1 1960-1969
10 - .7 1970

10. What years did you attend the graduate institution?

23 - 1.7 1930-1939
63 - 4.6 1940-1949
318 - 23.2 1950-1959
906 - 66.1 1960-1969
355 - 25.9 1970

11. How much political activity did your undergraduate institution experience while you were there?

65 - 4.7 A great deal (15 did not respond)
298 - 21.8 Moderate
647 - 47.2 Very little
345 - 25.2 None

12. How much political activity did your graduate teacher training institution experience while you were there?

89 - 6.5 A great deal
390 - 28.5 Moderate
487 - 35.5 Very little
241 - 17.6 None (163 did not respond)

13. To what degree would you consider yourself a political activist while you were an undergraduate student?

22 - 1.6 Highly politically oriented and activated
319 - 23.3 Moderately politically oriented and activated
1013 - 73.9 Seldom politically activated and not very politically oriented. (16 did not respond)

14. To what degree would you consider yourself a political activist while attending the graduate teacher training institution.

24 - 1.8 Highly politically oriented and activated
359 - 26.2 Moderately politically oriented and activated
840 - 61.3 Seldom politically activated and not very politically oriented. (147 did not respond)

15. To what degree do you consider yourself acquainted with student unrest on the campuses today, either through reading or experience?

262 - 19.1 Very well acquainted
905 - 66.1 Moderately acquainted
186 - 13.6 Very little acquainted (17 did not respond)

16. Please check the grade you are presently teaching:

239 - 17.4 1st
154 - 11.2 2nd
182 - 13.3 3rd
178 - 13.0 4th
214 - 15.6 5th
(113 did not respond)

168 - 12.3 6th
38 - 2.8 Multi-Grade Primary Level 1-3
69 - 5.0 Multi-Grade Middle Grades 4-6
15 - 1.1 Ungraded (1-6)

17. Have you taught this level?

341 - 24.9 Always
707 - 51.6 Usually
137 - 10.0 Seldom before
162 - 11.8 Never before (23 did not respond)

18. Which grades are you best acquainted with?

601 - 43.9 Primary grades (1-3)
634 - 46.3 Middle grades (4-6)
25 - 1.8 Ungraded (1-6) (110 did not respond)

19. What is the size of the district in which you are presently teaching?

451 - 32.9 25,000 & over
355 - 25.9 10,000 - 24,999
247 - 18.0 4,000 - 9,999
133 - 9.7 2,000 - 3,999

69 - 5.0 1,000 - 1,999
47 - 3.4 500 - 999
11 - .8 499 & under
(57 did not respond)

20. What percent of the total population in your class are the following ethnic groups?

	PERCENTAGE							
Group	Less than 6:	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 & over
Caucasian	57 4.2	23 1.7	29 2.1	55 4.0	25 1.8	66 4.8	67 4.9	939 68.5
Chinese/Am.	383 28.0	26 1.9	2 .1	1 .1				4 .3
Indiam/Am.	346 25.3	9 .7	3 .2					1 .1
Japanese/Am.	424 30.9	28 2.0	11 .8	3 .2	1 .1	2 .1	3 .2	3 .2
Mexican/Am.	477 34.8	139 10.1	107 7.8	83 6.1	51 3.7	61 4.5	26 1.9	64 4.7
Negro/Am.	429 31.3	69 5.0	30 2.2	19 1.4	11 .8	8 .6	4 .3	52 3.8
Other	117 8.5	14 1.0	7 .5	3 .2	1 .1			1 .1

21. For purposes of CTA organization, in which region of the state is your district located?

365 - 26.6 Bay Section of CTA
137 - 10.0 Central Section
42 - 3.1 Central Coast Sec.
21 - 1.5 North Coast Section
91 - 6.6 Northern Section
694 - 50.7 Southern Section

22. Does your district have a policy established on the teaching of controversial issues?

606 - 44.2 Yes
586 - 42.8 No (178 did not respond)

IF YES, does it encourage the teaching of controversial issues?

210 - 15.3 Yes
467 - 34.1 No

23. Does your district have a formal policy on speakers in the classroom?

387 - 28.2 Yes
751 - 54.8 No (232 did not respond)

IF YES, does your speaker's policy limit any group of speakers? (you may check more than one)

49 - 3.6 Speakers on the political right
54 - 3.9 Speakers on the political left
103 - 7.5 Any speaker who himself is a controversial person
98 - 7.2 A speaker who deals with controversial subjects
181 - 13.2 No limitations

PART II

Check the following statements as agree or disagree in the column at right.

	AGREE	DISAGREE
1. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.	114 - 8.3	1218 - 88.9
2. No matter how we like to talk about it, political authority really comes not from us, but from some higher power.	583 - 39.3	766 - 55.9
3. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.	185 - 13.5	1137 - 83.0
4. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.	159 - 11.6	1159 - 84.6
5. I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas.	188 - 13.7	1071 - 78.2
6. If something grows up over a long period of time, there will always be much wisdom to it.	101 - 7.4	1201 - 87.7
7. I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.	164 - 12.0	1145 - 83.6
8. All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way.	131 - 9.6	1176 - 85.8
9. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.	142 - 10.4	1103 - 80.5

PART III

This part of the questionnaire deals with your work in your professional teachers' organizations.

1. Do you belong to: (Check more than one if applicable.)

1129 - 89.7 CTA
909 - 66.4 NEA
67 - 4.9 United Teachers Organization of Los Angeles
22 - 1.6 AFT

Questionnaire p. 6

2. How long have you been a member of these organizations? (Check more than one if applicable.)

	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	21+ years
CTA	540-39.4	325-23.7	325-23.7	77- 5.6
NEA	441-32.2	217-15.8	225-16.4	81- 5.9
United Teachers of L.A.	51- 3.7	11- .8	3- .2	3- .2
AFT	17- 1.2	5- .4	3- .2	1- .1

3. How often do you read the:

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
CTA Action	402 - 29.3	420 - 30.7	433 - 31.6	69 - 5.0
Today's Education	216 - 15.8	311 - 22.7	333 - 24.3	130 - 9.5
AFT Newspaper	23 - 1.7	27 - 2.0	116 - 8.5	271 - 19.8

4. How often do you attend local meetings of your teachers' professional organizations?

336 - 24.5 Always
336 - 24.5 Often
457 - 33.4 Sometimes
209 - 15.3 Never

5. How often do you have personal contact with officials of the groups listed, either personally or by letter?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
CTA	239 - 17.4	639 - 46.6	452 - 33.0
NEA	40 - 2.9	273 - 19.9	712 - 52.0
United Teachers of L.A.	23 - 1.7	45 - 3.3	341 - 24.9
AFT	12 - .9	49 - 3.6	330 - 24.1

6. Do you vote in any of the elections for officials in any of the teachers' organization you belong to?

833 - 60.8 Always
223 - 16.3 Often
174 - 12.7 Sometimes
98 - 7.2 Never

7. If you were concerned about a school problem would you contact officials in your local teachers' organization for assistance?

657 - 48.0 Yes
93 - 6.8 No
585 - 42.7 Depends

(35 - 2.6 did not respond)

8. If you did contact the officials of your organizations do you think they would:

	CTA	NEA	UTLA	AFT	Local Teachers Organization
Understand your problem and do what they could about it.	827 60.4	322 23.5	64 4.7	44 3.2	719 52.5
Listen to you but would not do much.	248 18.1	214 15.6	31 2.3	34 2.5	130 9.5
Ignore you or get rid of you as soon as they could.	31 2.3	54 3.9	10 .7	14 1.0	26 1.9

9. Do you think teachers' organizations should ever endorse political candidates:

942 - 68.8	Yes
376 - 27.4	No

10. Have you ever held office in your local teachers' organization?

475 - 34.7	Yes
869 - 63.4	No

11. To what degree do you consider yourself an active person in your professional organization?

125 - 9.1	Very Active
238 - 17.4	Active
505 - 36.9	Moderately Active
466 - 34.0	Seldom Active

12. Read below the amount of activity in education and on the right, mark the proper box as to the amount of activity in the community you think best classifies yourself in community politics:

AMOUNT OF ACTIVITY IN EDUCATION	Active	Moderately Active	Inactive
Active in Education Politics	74 - 6.6	168 - 23.5	78 - 21.2
Moderately Active in Education Politics	10 - 2.1	321 - 34.7	56 - 18.5
Inactive in Education Politics	6 - 1.5	31 - 6.9	266 - 26.7

13. In education politics I would classify my principles as:

39 - 2.8	Ultra Liberal
463 - 33.8	Moderately Liberal
499 - 36.4	Moderate
286 - 20.9	Moderately Conservative
51 - 3.7	Traditional Conservative

PART IV

This part of the questionnaire deals with your own politicization in your local community.

1. Are you a registered voter?

1315 - 96.0 Nes
47 - 3.4 No

IF YES, are you a registered:

644 - 47.0 Republican
598 - 43.6 Democrat
58 - 4.2 Independent
13 - .9 Other

2. If not registered, do you usually think of yourself as a:

61 - 4.5 Republican
65 - 4.7 Democrat
48 - 3.5 Independent
6 - .4 Other

3. How often do you vote in:

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
School Elections	1122 - 81.9	135 - 9.9	49 - 3.6	39 - 2.8
Local Government Elections	1114 - 81.3	163 - 11.9	34 - 2.5	32 - 2.3
State & National Elections	1256 - 91.7	57 - 4.2	20 - 1.5	12 - .9

4. How would you classify yourself as a community activist?

15 - 1.1 Very Active
100 - 7.3 Active
482 - 35.2 Moderately Active
532 - 38.8 Seldom Active
215 - 15.7 Never Active

PART V

This part of the questionnaire is an attempt to determine what you actually do in the classroom as part of your civic education program.

Assuming that the materials used would be applicable to the age group of your class and to the maturity and ability of the students, do you:

	YES	NO	NOT APPLICABLE
1. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important national issues.	115 - 8.4	283 - 20.7	923 - 67.4
2. Bring speakers of differing opinions to your class on important local issues.	159 - 11.6	295 - 21.5	866 - 63.2

Questionnaire p. 9

		YES	NO	NOT APPLICABLE
3.	Use periodicals which are prepared especially to give a "balanced" view on current affairs.	652 - 47.6	136 - 9.9	539 - 39.3
4.	Use periodicals which give a particular point of view.	226 - 16.5	495 - 36.1	567 - 41.4
5.	Speak in class yourself for or against the Vietnam war.	282 - 20.6	622 - 45.4	406 - 29.6
6.	Speak in class for or against busing students to achieve better integration.	142 - 10.4	657 - 48.0	514 - 37.5
7.	Speak in class for or against socialism.	129 - 9.4	656 - 47.9	517 - 37.7
8.	Allow the distribution of anti-communist literature in your class.	70 - 5.1	595 - 43.4	622 - 45.4
9.	Allow distribution of Birch Society literature in your classroom.	21 - 1.5	664 - 48.5	599 - 43.7
10.	Allow distribution of the periodicals of militant black or third world organizations in your class.	28 - 2.0	656 - 47.9	608 - 44.4
11.	Tell the class how you feel about a particular candidate for public office.	128 - 9.3	792 - 57.8	382 - 27.9

In your present teaching position do you feel free to:

		YES	NO
1.	Serve as a party precinct worker in pre-election activities.	1162 - 84.8	177 - 12.9
2.	Run for political office.	979 - 71.5	344 - 25.1
3.	Belong to controversial community groups such as Planned Parenthood.	1026 - 74.9	297 - 21.7
4.	Go on strike to secure high salaries and other benefits.	515 - 37.6	780 - 56.9
5.	Take part in public picketing against the war in Vietnam.	554 - 40.4	738 - 53.9
6.	Write a letter to the editor of your local paper criticizing school policy.	670 - 48.9	644 - 47.0
7.	Write a letter to the editor of your local paper criticizing public policy.	1021 - 74.5	298 - 21.8
8.	Belong to a third political party.	840 - 61.3	459 - 33.5
9.	Criticize your administration to the local teachers' organization.	950 - 69.3	366 - 26.7

Questionnaire p. 10.

PART VI

Read all the item below carefully and mark an "X" under one of the five (5) possible responses which best describes your feeling.

	Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Opinion
1. Harmony and political compromise are fundamental values which should be learned in school.	320 23.4	618 45.1	212 15.5	75 5.5	68 5.0
2. The rights, duties and obligations of citizens are a fundamental part of the civic education program.	1000 73.0	316 23.1	14 1.0	1 .1	10 .7
3. No specialized formal education in civics is necessary to teach the values inherent in the system of government.	51 3.7	156 11.4	423 30.9	673 49.1	23 1.7
4. It is important that the schools teach a harmony of community of interests, rather than to stress group conflicts.	443 32.3	576 42.0	202 14.7	39 2.8	55 4.0
5. It is important that the schools help students to develop a fundamental consensus about specific American political and social problems.	443 32.3	537 39.2	194 14.2	90 6.6	53 3.9
6. It is important that the child be socialized or adjusted to the prevailing political order.	75 5.5	421 30.7	436 31.8	283 20.7	89 6.5
7. The facts of government in today's world preclude general courses in civic education; rather, emphasis should be on the development of highly specialized skills.	34 2.5	163 11.9	571 41.7	351 25.6	171 12.5
8. Learning how to look at a problem is more important than being taught how the government functions.	369 26.9	522 38.1	251 18.3	63 4.6	77 5.6

APPENDIX II

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED

Alameda County

Alameda Unified
Albany Unified
Berkeley Unified
Castro Valley Unified
Emery Unified
Fremont Unified
Hayward Unified
Livermore Valley Unified
Murray Elementary
Neward Unified
New Haven Unified
Oakland Unified
Piedmont Unified
Pleasanton Elementary
San Leandro Unified
San Lorenzo Unified

Amador County

Oro Madre Unified

Butte County

Biggs Unified
Chico Unified
Gridly Elementary
Oroville Elementary
Palermo Elementary
Paradise Unified
Thermalito Elementary

Calaveras County

Calaveras Unified

Colusa County

Colusa Unified
Pierce Unified
Williams Unified

Contra Costa County

Antioch Unified
Brentwood Elementary
John Swett Unified

Contra Costa County (continued)

Lafayette Elementary
Martinez Unified
Moraga Elementary
Mt. Diablo Unified
Oakley Elementary
Orinda Elementary
Pittsburg Unified
Richmond Unified
San Ramon Valley Unified

Del Norte County

Del Norte Unified

El Dorado County

Buckeye Elementary
Lake Tahoe Unified
Mother Lode Elementary
Placerville Elementary

Fresno County

Caruthers Elementary
Clovis Unified
Coalinga Unified
Firebaugh Elementary
Fowler Unified
Fresno Unified
Fresno Colony Elementary
Kerman-Floyd Elementary
Kingsburg Elementary
Kings Canyon Unified
Laton Unified
McKinley-Roosevelt Elementary
Mendota Elementary
Parlier Unified
Riverdale Elementary
Sanger Unified
Selma Unified
Washington Colony Elementar6
Westside Elementary

Glenn County

Orland Elementary
Willows Unified

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

Humboldt County

Arcata Elementary
Eureka Elementary
Fortuna Elementary
Klamath-Trinity Unified
McKinleyville Elementary
Rio Dell Elementary
Rohnerville Elementary
South Bay Elementary
Southern Humboldt Unified

Imperial County

Brawley Elementary
Calexico Unified
Calipatria Unified
El Centro Elementary
Holtville Unified
Imperial Unified
San Pasqual Valley Unified
Seeley Elementary
Big Pine Unified
Bishop Elementary
Lone Pine Unified

Kern County

Arvin Elementary
Bakersfield Elementary
Beardsley Elementary
China Lake Elementary
Delano Elementary
Edison Elementary
El Tejon Elementary
Fairfax Elementary
Greenfield Elementary
Indian Wells Valley Elementary
Lamont Elementary
Maricopa Unified
McFarland Elementary
Mojave Unified
Muroc Unified
Panama Elementary
Richland Elementary
Rosedale Elementary
Southern Kern Unified
Standard Elementary
Taft City Elementary
Tehachapi Unified
Vineland Elementary
Wasco Elementary

Kings County

Armona Elementary
Central Elementary
Corcoran Unified
Hanford Elementary
Lakeside Elementary
Lemoore Elementary
Reef-Sunset Elementary

Lake County

Kelseyville Unified
Konocti Unified
Lakeport Unified

Lassen County

Big Valley Unified
Susanville Elementary
Westwood Unified

Los Angeles County

ABC Unified
Alhambra Elementary
Arcadia Unified
Azusa Unified
Baldwin Park Unified
Bassett Unified
Bellflower Unified
Beverly Hills Unified
Bonita Unified
Charter Oak Unified
Claremont Unified
Compton Elementary
Covina-Valley Unified
Culver City Unified
Downey Unified
Duarte Unified
East Whittier Elementary
El Monte Elementary
El Rancho Unified
El Segundo Unified
Enterprise Elementary
Garvey Elementary
Glendale Unified
Glendora Unified
Hawthorne Elementary
Hermosa Beach Elementary
Hudson Elementary
Inglewood Unified

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

Los Angeles County (cont'd)

Keppel Elementary
La Canada Unified
Lancaster Elementary
Las Virgenes Unified
Lawndale Elementary
Lennox Elementary
Little Lake Elementary
Long Beach Unified
Los Angeles Unified
Los Nietos Elementary
Lowell Elementary
Lynwood Unified
Manhattan Beach Elementary
Monrovia Unified
Montebello Unified
Mountain View Elementary
Newhall Elementary
Norwalk-La Mirada Unified
Palmdale Elementary
Palos Verdes Peninsula Unified
Pasadena Unified
Pomona Unified
Redondo Beach Elementary
Rosemead Elementary
Rowland Elementary
San Gabriel Elementary
San Marino Unified
Saugus Elementary
South Pasadena Unified
South Whittier Elementary
Sulphur Springs Elementary
Temple City Unified
Valle Lindo Elementary
Walnut Elementary
West Covina Unified
Westside Elementary
Whittier Elementary
Willowbrook Elementary
Wiseburn Elementary

Madera County

Chowchilla Elementary
Madera Unified

Marin County

Dixie Elementary
Fairfax Elementary
Kentfield Elementary
Larkspur Elementary
Mill Valley Elementary
Novato Unified
Reed Elementary
San Anselmo Elementary
San Rafael Elementary
Sausalito Elementary

Mendocino County

Fort Bragg Unified
Ukiah Unified
Willits Unified

Merced County

Atwater Elementary
Dos Palos Elementary
Livingston Elementary
Los Banos Unified
Merced Elementary
Newman-Gustine Unified
Winton Elementary

Modoc County

Modoc-Tulelake Unified

Monterey County

Alisal Elementary
Carmel Unified
Gonzales Elementary
King City Elementary
Monterey Peninsula Unified
North Monterey Elementary
Pacific Grove Unified
Salinas Elementary
Washington Elementary

Napa County

Napa Valley Unified
Grass Valley Unified
Nevada City Elementary

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

Orange County

Anaheim Elementary
Brea-Olinda Unified
Buena Park Elementary
Capistrano Unified
Centralia Elementary
Cypress Elementary
Fountain Valley Elementary
Fullerton Elementary
Garden Grove Unified
Huntington Beach Elementary
Laguna Beach Unified
La Habra Elementary
Los Alamitos Elementary
Magnolia Elementary
Newport-Mesa Unified
Ocean View Elementary
Orange Unified
Placentia Unified
San Joaquin Elementary
Santa Ana Unified
Savanna Elementary
Seal Beach Elementary
Tustin Elementary
Westminster Elementary
Yorba Linda Elementary

Placer County

Auburn Elementary
Eureka Elementary
Loomis Elementary
Placer Hills Elementary
Ricklin Elementary
Roseville Elementary
Tahoe-Truckee Unified
Western Placer Unified

Plumas County

Plumas Unified

Riverside County

Alvord Unified
Banning Unified
Beaumont Unified
Coachella Elementary

Riverside County (cont'd)

Corona Unified
Desert Sands Unified
Elsinore Elementary
Hemet Unified
Jurupa Unified
Moreno Valley Unified
Palm Springs Unified
Perris Elementary
Thermal Elementary

Sacramento County

Center Elementary
Del Paso Heights Elementary
Elk Grove Unified
Folsom-Cordova Unified
Galt Elementary
North Sacramento Elementary
Rio Linda Elementary
River Delta Unified
Robla Elementary
Sacramento Unified
San Juan Unified

San Benito County

Hollister Elementary

San Bernardino County

Adelanto Elementary
Alta Loma Elementary
Apple Valley Elementary
Barstow Unified
Central Elementary
Chino Unified
Colton Unified
Cucamonga Elementary
Fontana Unified
Hesperia Elementary
Morongo Unified
Ontario-Montclair Elementary
Redlands Unified
Rialto Unified
Rim of the World Unified
San Bernardino Unified
Upland Elementary
Victor Elementary
Yucaipa Unified

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

San Diego County

Alpine Elementary
Cajon Valley Elementary
Cardiff Elementary
Carlsbad Elementary
Chula Vista Elementary
Coronado Unified
Del Mar Elementary
Encinitas Elementary
Escondido Elementary
Fallbrook Elementary
Lakeside Elementary
La Mesa-Spring Valley Elementary
Lemon Grove Elementary
National Elementary
Oceanside Elementary
Poway Unified
Rich-Mar Elementary
San Diego Unified
Sante Elementary
San Ysidro Elementary
South Bay Elementary
Vista Unified

San Joaquin County

Escalon Unified
Lincoln Unified
Linden Unified
Lodi Unified
Manteca Unified
Stockton Unified
Tracy Elementary

San Luis Obispo County

Atascadero Unified
Lucia Mar Unified
Paso Robles Elementary
San Luis Coastal Unified

San Mateo County

Belmont Elementary
Brisbane Elementary
Burlingame Elementary
Cabrillo Unified
Hillsborough Elementary
Jefferson Elementary
Laguna Salada Elementary

San Mateo County (cont'd)

Las Lomitas Elementary
Menlo Park Elementary
Portola Valley Elementary
Ravenswood Elementary
Redwood City Elementary
San Bruno Park Elementary
San Carlos Elementary
San Mateo Elementary
South San Francisco Unified

Santa Barbara County

Carpinteria Unified
College Elementary
Goleta Elementary
Hope Elementary
Lompoc Unified
Orcutt Elementary
Santa Barbara Elementary
Santa Maria Elementary

Santa Clara County

Alum Rock Elementary
Berryessa Elementary
Cambrian Elementary
Campbell Elementary
Cupertino Elementary
Evergreen Elementary
Franklin-McKinley Element.
Gilroy Unified
Los Altos Elementary
Los Gatos Elementary
Milpitas Unified
Moreland Elementary
Morgan Hill Unified
Mountain View Elementary
Mt. Pleasant Elementary
Oak Grove Elementary
Palo Alto Unified
San Jose Unified
Santa Clara Unified
Saratoga Elementary
Sunnyvale Elementary
Union Elementary
Whisman Elementary

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

Santa Cruz County

Live Oak Elementary
Pajaro Valley Unified
San Lorenzo Valley Unified
Santa Cruz Elementary
Scotts Valley Elementary
Soquel Elementary

San Francisco County

San Francisco Unified

Shasta County

Cascade Elementary
Cottonwood Elementary
Enterprise Elementary
Pacheco Elementary
Redding Elementary
Shasta Lake Elementary

Siskiyou County

Mount Shasta Elementary
Weed Elementary
Yreka Elementary

Solano County

Dixon Unified
Fairfield-Suisun Unified
Travis Unified
Vacaville Unified
Vallejo Unified

Sonoma County

Bellevue Elementary
Cotati Elementary
Fort Ross Elementary
Gravenstein Elementary
Healdsburg Elementary
Oak Grove Elementary
Old Adobe Elementary
Petaluma Elementary
Rincon Valley Elementary
Roseland Elementary
Santa Rosa Elementary
Sebastopol Elementary
Sonoma Valley Unified
Windsor Elementary

Stanislaus County

Ceres Unified
Chatom Elementary
Empire Elementary
Hart-Ransom Elementary
Hughson Elementary
Keyes Elementary
Modesto Elementary
Oakdale Elementary
Patterson Unified
Riverbank Elementary
Stanislaus Elementary
Sylvan Elementary
Turlock Elementary

Sutter County

Yuba Unified

Tehama County

Antelope Elementary
Corning Elementary
Red Bluff Elementary

Tulare County

Cutler-Orosi Unified
Dinuba Elementary
Earlimart Elementary
Farmersville Elementary
Lindsay Unified
Porterville Elementary
Terra Bella Elementary
Tulare Elementary
Visalia Unified
Woodlake Elementary

Tuolumne County

Sonora Elementary

Ventura County

Fillmore Unified
Hueneme Elementary
Moorpark Elementary
Ocean View Elementary
Ojai Unified
Oxnard Elementary
Pleasant Valley Elementary

SCHOOL DISTRICTS SAMPLED (continued)

Ventura County (cont'd)

Rio Elementary
Santa Paula Elementary
Simi Valley Unified
Timber Elementary
Valley Oaks Elementary
Ventura Unified

Yolo County

Davis Unified
Washington Unified
Woodland Unified

Yuba County

Marysville Unified
Wheatland Elementary

OPERATING CALIFORNIA SCHOOL DISTRICTS 1970 - 71

TYPE AND AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE RANGE

Average Daily Attendance Range*	Unified Districts		Elementary Districts	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
25,000 & Over	27	10.47		
10,000 - 24,999	47	18.22	19	2.74
4,000 - 9,999	65	25.19	58	8.36
1,000 - 3,999	80	31.00	124	17.86
500 - 999	18	6.98	80	11.53
100 - 499	21	8.14	227	32.71
Under 100			186	26.80
TOTAL	258	100.00	694	100.00

* Based on 1969-70 Fiscal Average Daily Attendance

APPENDIX III

California Association of School Administrators
1705 Murchison Drive • Burlingame, California 94010 • 697-2410

January 25, 1971

Dear Superintendent:

The Joint Research Committee (CASA, CASSA, CESAA, CTA) unanimously voted to sponsor a study that is being undertaken by Mrs. Virginia Franklin at the University of California, Berkeley. The title of this study is, "The Role of the Elementary School Teacher in the Political Socialization Process."

The study will undoubtedly provide educators and other interested professionals with data about a subject that has been discussed at length but has never been researched.

A representative sample of elementary teachers, grades 1 through 6, of the school districts of California will be used to assist Mrs. Franklin in collecting the data necessary to complete this important study. The data will be solicited from elementary teachers by means of a questionnaire which will be distributed to elementary principals in your district during the weeks of February 15 and 22, 1971. The cooperation of building administrators is necessary to insure a representative selected sample.

The involvement of your district will require the principals of the schools selected in your district as part of the sample to do the following:

1. Pick one or more teachers from his faculty, grades 1 through 6, and ask them to participate in the study. Directions for choosing teachers for the sample will be given to the principal.

2. The principal will be asked to follow up on completion of the questionnaire within a two week period.

Any questions relating to the conduct of the survey should be addressed to the Research Department, California Teachers Association, 1705 Murchison Drive, Burlingame, California 94010, or to one of the members of the Joint Research Committee.

Sincerely yours,

James H. Corson
James H. Corson
Executive Secretary, CASA

George Kibby
George Kibby, Chairman
Joint Research Committee

GGG/pm/ml

Founded 1863

California Teachers Association

1705 Murchison Drive • Burlingame, California 94010 • (415) 697-1400

February 17, 1971

Dear Principal:

The Joint Research Committee (CASA, CESAA, CASSA, CTA) unanimously voted to sponsor a study that is being undertaken by Mrs. Virginia Franklin at the University of California, Berkeley. The title of this study is, "The Role of the Elementary School Teacher in the Political Socialization Process," which will provide educators and other interested professionals with data about a subject that has been discussed at length but has never been investigated rigorously.

A representative sample of elementary teachers, grades 1 through 6, has been selected from among the school districts of California. Your school is one of those picked as part of this sample. Your superintendent has been notified of this and the Joint Research Committee sincerely hopes that you will be able to help in collecting data for this important study.

Enclosed you will find one or more survey forms. We will appreciate your doing the following to assist in the collection of the needed information.

1. Pick a random sample of your teachers, grades 1 through 6, to match the number of survey form(s) enclosed.
2. Method of selecting teachers:
   a. If one teacher is to be selected, pick him from the mid-point of your teacher roster.
   b. If two teachers are to be selected, pick one approximately one fourth and the other about three fourths from the beginning of your teacher roster.
   c. If three teachers are to be selected, pick one at one fourth, one at mid-point and one at three fourths from the beginning of the teacher roster.
3. Give each of these teachers one form and a business reply envelope and ask him to complete the survey form as soon as possible.
4. Each teacher in the sample will mail the survey form directly to the Research Department in the pre-paid envelope.

5. If a teacher does not wish to participate in this study, he has been instructed in the cover letter to return the survey form to you. If this is done, please pick another teacher to be one of the sample members from your school.

6. One week after you have selected a teacher or teachers to participate in this study, please ask them if they have completed and returned their survey form. No formal follow up will be undertaken for this study.

In advance, may the Joint Research Committee of California thank you for your participation in making this important study a success.

Sincerely yours,

Garford G. Gordon
Research Executive, CTA
Member, Joint Research Committee

GGG:pms
CTA Research Department
#101-71

Founded 1863

California Teachers Association

1705 Murchison Drive • Burlingame, California 94010 • (415) 697-1400

February 17, 1971

Dear Teacher:

The California Elementary School Administrators Association, the California Association of Secondary School Administrators, the California Association of School Administrators and the Research Department of the California Teachers Association, jointly sponsor a statewide committee known as the Joint Research Committee. Among other things, this statewide committee recommends sponsorship of studies undertaken by fellow educators when it appears that the results will add significantly to the information needed by educators to help boys and girls grow and develop.

The Joint Committee at its last quarterly meeting unanimously voted support for a study being undertaken by Mrs. Virginia Franklin, a fellow educator. The title of her study is, "The Role of the Elementary School Teacher (Grades 1-6) in the Political Socialization Process."

This study will provide educators and other interested professionals with data about a subject that has been discussed at length, but has never been investigated rigorously.

Attached to this letter are the following:

1. A questionnaire to be answered by teachers, grades 1 through 6.
2. A pre-paid return envelope. Please do not show your completed survey form to anybody. No individual returns will be revealed to anyone. This study is completely anonymous.

Instructions for completing the questionnaire.

1. Please use the check lists where possible.
2. Use free responses only where choices offered are clearly unsuitable.
3. Please be so kind as to complete your survey form and return to CTA Research Department within two weeks.

If for any reason you do not wish to respond to this survey, please give this form and letter back to your principal and ask him to give it to another teacher in your school.

The members of the Joint Research Committee sincerely hope that you will be able to participate in this important study.

In advance may the Joint Committee thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Garford G. Gordon
Research Executive, CTA
Member, Joint Research Committee

GGG:pms
CTA Research Department
#101-71

APPENDIX IV

KEYPUNCHING INSTRUCTIONS

ROLE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER IN THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

GRADES 1-6

1. All questions to which there can be only one response, have been allotted one column each. The proper code number is shown by each of the possible answers - see Code Sheet. If the question has not been answered, the column must be keypunched as zero (0).

   For instance: Part I - Question 1. SEX:

   _____ Male
   __✓__ Female

   Should be keypunched as a 2 in column 5.

2. All questions to which there can be one or more responses have been allotted one column for each possible response. The responses which are checked in these cases will be keypunched as a one (1) in the proper column. The responses which are not checked will be keypunched as a zero (0) in the proper column.

   For instance: Part I - Question 5. What type of undergraduate institution did you attend:

In State	Out of State
___Normal School	___Normal School
_✓_State College	___State College
___State University	_✓_State University
___Private College	___Private College
_✓_Private University	___Private University
___Other (Please specify)	___Other (Please specify)

   Should be keypunched:

Column	Number	Column	Number
10	0	16	0
11	1	17	0
12	0	18	1
13	0	19	0
14	1	20	0
15	0	21	0

3. Any question that is not answered must have a zero (0) keypunched in all columns.

APPENDIX V

CONCLUSIONS

from

Harmon Ziegler, The Political World of the High School Teacher, Chapter 8, pp. 151 - 158.

By concentrating upon two levels of inquiry--the teacher as a political actor and as a communicator of political ideas to students--we have dealth with teachers in the following situations: (1) as individuals reacting to their jobs and environments (chapters one through three), (2) as participants in an interest group (chapters four and five), (3) as expressers of political values in class (chapter six), and (4) as reactors to community sactions (chapter seven). The major conclusions in each of these sections may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. Chapters one through three

1. Men are more dissatisfied with their jobs than are women.
2. Income does not change this relationship since high income males become dissatisfied as teaching experience increases.
3. On the other hand, high income females become more satisfied as their experience increases.
4. There is no clear relationship between sex, income, and political ideology; however, as teaching experience increases, so does political conservatism.
5. Generally, political and educational philosophy are

related; however, high income women are both politically conservative and educationally progressive.

6. Males have a high need for respect than females; hence, an exaggerated concern for authority is more typical of male teachers than of teachers in general.
7. Increasing teaching experience contributes to a reluctance to speak in class about controversial topics.
8. This reluctance is more characteristic of liberal than of conservative opinions.
9. The most consistent clustering of attitudes occurs among high income females.
10. Males, irrespective of income or teaching experience, tend to be more alike in their attitudes; females are more divergent, depending upon income or teaching experience.
11. The majority of male teachers are upwardly movile; the majority of female teachers are not.
12. The relationship between mibility and attitudes is clearer among males than among females.
13. Among males, job satisfaction and mobility are related; upward mobiles are the most satisfied.
14. Upward mobile males tend to be the least alienated; the reverse is true of females.
15. A similar pattern can be observed with regard to cynicism.

16. Hence, upward mobility is more disturbing to females and downward mobility is more disturbing to males.
17. In general, male teachers respond to questions about political power in a fashion typical of females as recorded in national surveys.
18. Therefore, the expected relationship between mobility and attitude is clearest when politics is not involved.
19. The political values of mobile teachers fluctuate mre through time than do the political values of stable teachers; the least fluctuation can be found among upward stable teachers, while the most fluctuation occurs among upward mobile teachers.
20. Downward mobile teachers appear to be the most conservative, irrespective of the measure of conservatism employed.
21. On questions of overt ideology, mobility is capable of minimizing sex differences; this is not true on questions of perception.
22. Thus, for example, downward mobility has a severe impact upon the male's need for respect but not upon the female's.
23. Downward mobile male teachers are the most misanthropic group.
24. Teachers in metropolitan areas are more satisfied with their jobs than teachers in smaller towns.
25. Female teachers have more trouble adjusting to small town environment while for men the migration to a

large city presents a more severe problem.

26. Consequently, moving from a large city to a small town operates to reduce the difference in job satisfaction between males and females.
27. Males teaching subjects dominated by females are the most satisfied with their jobs.
28. Math and science teachers of both sexes are the least satisfied.
29. Although males believe they have less prestige in the community than do females, the difference between the sexes is reduced by teaching experience.
30. Job satisfaction is a more reliable clue to the measurement of political conservatism among males than among females.
31. Among men, there is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and conservatism.
32. A similar, but weaker pattern, characterizes the relationship between job satisfaction and opposition to change.
33. The relationship between job satisfaction and personal conservatism among men is not as strong as the relationship betwwen job satisfaction and overt ideology.
34. Those most satisfied with their jobs are the most educationally progressive and have the greatest faith in schools.

35. For women, job staisfaction and attitude toward schools follows a consistent linear pattern; this is not true for men.

36. Consequently, even though men have a greater commitment to their occupation than do women, the relationship between their work life and their ideology and perception is not as clear as was predicted.

II. Chapters four and five

1. There is a relationship between reasons for joing an organization and perceptions of the proper political role of the organization.

2. The "active minority" of the Oregon Education Association is comprised of female teachers with considerable teaching experience in small towns.

3. For both males and females, participation in the organization increases with experience, but the increase is greater among women.

4. Teachers with high income participate more with teachers with low incomes with the least participation among downward mobile teachers. However, no matter how the income or mobility pattern of teachers is related to participation, women participate more than men.

5. There is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational participation; yet small town teachers, the least satisfied, participate

actively in the organization.

6. Enthusiasm for the organization, greatest among small town teachers, is magnified among small town teachers who were raised in a small town.
7. Although females are more active in the organization, males are slightly more active in non-educational political affairs (this difference occurs principally among teachers with high incomes and long teaching experience.)
8. Men view the organization as more "political" than do women.
9. However, while men want the organization to involve itself in general political matters, women are more likely to support the activity of the organization in educational politics.
10. There is a positive relationship between organizational participation and general political participation, but this relationship is clearer for men than for women.
11. Far fewer teachers believe they should engage in risky political activity than believe they would engage in relatively safe activity.
12. Among the active participants in the organization, men are twice as likely as women to believe that they should engage in risky political activities.

13. Although women are more active than men, they are less likely to engage in personal contact with an organizational leader.
14. Males are typically initiators of communications with organizational leaders while females typically are receivers of communication.
15. Among both men and women, tendency to agree with the goals of the organization increases in proportion to the extent of activity in the organization; however, this increase is greater among women.
16. Among both men and women, trust of organizational leadership increases with activity; however, women are more trusting than men.
17. Females view the leadership of the organization as politically influential while men see the leadership as relatively impotent.
18. Women view the organization in pluralist terms while men have a more elitist perception.
19. Men are more familiar with the policy positions of the organization.
20. Beliefs about the actual behavior of the organization are distorted by beliefs concerning the proper role of the organization.
21. Men, although dissatisfied with the organization, are more likely than women to accept its political advice, perhaps because of the positive relationship

between perception of the legitimate political role of the organization and willingness to follow the organization's suggestions about educational policies while males are more inclined to accept its suggestions about general politics.

22. The organization's anti-union pronouncements have an impact upon the attitudes of its members.
23. The professional staff members of the organization accept the maxim that they should do what the members want, but they are also jealous of their autonomy to do what they think best.
24. The professional staff is more inclined to favor involvement of the organization in a variety of activities than is the membership.
25. The greatest discrepancy between staff attitudes and member attitudes occurs on questions of the political activity of the organization.
26. The followers are more constrained than the staff with regard to political activities, with the exception of lobbying (about which there is a substantial consensus).
27. Whereas leaders are more likely to want to involve the organization in political affairs, they perceive the members to be more reluctant than they actually are.
28. The staff consistently underestimates the activism of the followers.

29. Staff members see their role as more important in securing salary increases than do the members; they are also more critical of unions.
30. However, the staff perceives more dissatisfaction among the membership than actually exists.
31. The staff is more liberal than the membership, but ideological differences are exaggerated because of the overestimation of the conservatism of the members.
32. With the exception of going on strike, the professional staff is more supportive of risky political activity on the part of teachers.

III. Chapter six

1. The classroom is not perceived by teachers as a medium for the expression of political values.
2. Proper behavior in the classroom can be equated with "safe" behavior.
3. Liberals are more expressive than conservatives. the clearest patterns of expressive orientations are found by contrasting the expressive male liberals and the extremely reticent female conservatives.
4. Active involvement in the political process contributes toward a view of the classroom as a forum for the expression of political opinions.

5. There is a positive relationship between expressive behavior orientation and actual discussion of political affairs in class.
6. Among the teaching population there is a "reversal" of the normal behavior of partisans; Republicans participate less then Democrats in political affairs both within and beyond the classroom.
7. Large city teachers talk about politics more in class than small town teachers and are more politicaly liberal.
8. Politics is discussed most in social studies courses.
9. Though teachers in general are characterized by a conservative ideology, pupils are more likely to receive a liberal bias in class dicussions because of the relationship between ideology and expressive behavior in the class (liberals dicuss politics more than conservatives).
10. In general, teachers do not make a distinction between facts and values.
11. The stronger the agreement with a particular statement, the stronger the inclination to regard the statement as a fact.
12. Participation in the political process contributes to perceptual "bias" but this contribution is greater among liberals than among conservatives.

IV. Chapter seven

1. Teachers are more educationally progressive than members of the community in which they teach.
2. Small town teachers are more conservative than the community, while large city teachers are more liberal than the community.
3. Teachers perceive sanctions as originating from within the educational system rather than from the community.
4. Within the educational system, parents are the greatest threat, followed closely bh school board members.
5. "Professionals," such as the principal, are less of a threat than lay participants in the educational system.
6. Most sanctioning agents are restricted to one or two issues.
7. Migrants are more sanction-prone than teachers who teach in the same kind of community in which they were raised.
8. Men are more sanction-prone than women.
9. Among men, there is a negative relationship between job satisfaction and fear of sanctions; the less the satisfaction the greater the fear.
10. Social studies teachers are more sanction-prone than teachers of any other subjects.

11. Liberals are more sanction-prone than conservatives.
12. However, alienated and cynical teachers, who tend to be conservative, are also more sanction-prone.
13. Sanction-prone teachers are reluctant to express values in class but are more likely than sanction-fearless teachers to be active in politics. Clearly, the classroom experience is the greatest producer of fear among teachers.

To the extent that the high school teaching population is "different," because of the equal status of men and women, many of these conclusions are not generalizable beyond the present data. Indeed, high school teachers were selected for the study precisely because they are unique. Few occupations afford equal access to men and women. Therefore, replication of the study is difficult. The general conclusion that male high school teachers are not typical in their political behavior of the male population seems to imply that, even though there is a selective migration into teaching as an occupation, fundamental psychological differences may be reduced by means of the playing of societal roles. This conclusion is clearly more tentative than some of the narrower-guage conclusions--those dealing with behavior in formal organizations, for example. Perhaps it is this tentative nature which makes it intriguing.

APPENDIX VI

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER

A Policy Statement of the National Council for the Social Studies

I. *Preface*

Democracy is a way of life that prizes alternatives. Alternatives mean that people must make choices. Wisdom with which to make choices can come only if there are freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, and of teaching. They protect the people in their right to hear, to read, to discuss, and to reach judgments according to individual conscience. Without the possession and the exercise of these rights, self-government is impossible.[1]

A teacher's academic freedom is his right and responsibility to study, investigate, present, interpret, and discuss all the relevant facts and ideas in the field of his professional competence. This freedom implies no limitations other than those imposed by generally accepted standards of scholarship. As a professional, the teacher strives to maintain a spirit of free inquiry, open-mindedness, and impartiality in his classroom. As a member of an academic community, however, he is free to present in the field of his professional competence his own opinions or convictions and with them the premises from which they are derived.

The democratic way of life depends for its very existence upon the free contest and examination of ideas. In the field of social studies, controversial issues must be studied in the classroom without the assumption that they are settled in advance or there is only one "right" answer in matters of dispute. The social studies teacher is obligated to approach such issues in a spirit of critical inquiry rather than advocacy.

The central issue in considering a teacher's fitness is the quality of his performance in the classroom and his relationship with his students. A teacher's personal religious, political, social, and economic beliefs should not be criteria for evaluating his professional competence.

Like any other professional or nonprofessional worker, the teacher should be free to organize with others to protect his interests and to join or not to join professional associations and unions for such purposes. Any attempt to prevent the establishment of such an organization, to hamper its activities or to discriminate against its members, is a serious infringement on the freedom of teachers.

In his private capacity the teacher should be as free as any other citizen to participate in political, religious and social movements and organizations and in any other lawful activity; and to hold and to express publicly his views. The fact that he is a teacher must not exclude him from activities open to other citizens; on the contrary, his position imposes on him the two-fold duty of advancing new and useful ideas and of helping to discard those which are outworn.

II. *The Study of Controversial Issues*

Freedom means choice. The democratic process is concerned with the ways in which individuals and groups in a free society grapple with problems, resolve conflicting opinions and select among alternatives. Such decisions involve values and goals as well as procedures and facts.

It is the prime responsibility of the schools to help students assume the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. To do this education must impart the skills needed for intelligent study and orderly resolution of the problems inherent in a democratic society. Students need to study issues upon which there is disagreement and to practice analyzing problems, gathering and organizing facts, discriminating between facts and opinions, discussing differing viewpoints, and drawing tentative conclusions. It is the clear obligation of schools to promote full and free contemplation of controversial issues and to foster appreciation of the role of controversy as an instrument of progress in a democracy.

The study of controversial issues should develop the following skills and attitudes:

1. The desire and ability to study relevant problems and to make intelligent choices from alternatives.
2. The desire and ability to use rational methods in considering significant issues.
3. The willingness to recognize that differing viewpoints are valuable and normal.
4. The recognition that reasonable compromise is often an important part of the democratic decision-making process.
5. The skill of analyzing and evaluating sources of information—recognizing propaganda, half truths, and bias.

III. *The Rights and Responsibilities of Teachers*

The American academic tradition which stresses the free contest of ideas is at the very heart of curriculum development and classroom teaching. Hence, teachers have special rights and bear special responsibilities.

It is the right of teachers:

To participate in the development of curriculum and the selection of teaching materials.

To select for classroom study controversial issues related to the curriculum and appropriate to the maturity, intellectual and emotional capacities of the students.

To have access to adequate instructional resources so that all sides of an issue can be presented adequately.

To call upon teaching colleagues, administrators and professional organizations for assistance and advice.

To have a written policy furnished by the local Board of Education which:

a) clearly states the right of students to learn and of teachers to teach
b) provides guidelines and safeguards for the study of controversial issues
c) details procedures for investigating criticism of the study of controversial issues

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[1] Committee on Academic Freedom, National Council for the Social Studies, "Freedom to Learn and Freedom to Teach," Social Education, Vol. XVII, No. 5 (May, 1953), pp. 217-19.

d) insures fair procedures and due process should complaints arise about materials or methods of instruction.

To teach in his area of academic competence without regard to his personal beliefs, race, sex or ethnic origin.

To express his own point of view in the classroom as long as he clearly indicates it is his opinion and is willing to explain his position.

To work in a climate conducive to rational and free inquiry.

To have his professional competence in dealing with controversial issues judged with reference to the context within which any specific activity occured.

To exercise his rights as a citizen including the rights to support any side of an issue or any candidate for public office, and to seek and to hold partisan and non-partisan public and professional positions.

It is the responsibility of teachers:

To insure every student his right to confront and study controversial issues.

To protect the right of every student to identify, express and defend his opinions without penalty.

To establish with their students the ground rules for the study of issues within the classroom.

To promote the fair representation of differing points of view on all issues studied.

To insure that classroom activities do not adversely reflect upon any individual or group because of race, creed, sex or ethnic origin.

To teach students *how* to think, not *what* to think.

To adhere to the written policy concerning academic freedom established by the Board of Education.

To give students full and fair consideration when they take issue with teaching strategies, materials, course requirements or evaluation procedures.

To exemplify objectivity in the search for truth, to demonstrate respect for minority opinion, and to recognize the function of dissent in the democratic process.

IV. *Threats to Academic Freedom*

Actions leading to a loss of academic freedom can be classified as those involving the teacher, educational materials, the curriculum and resource personnel.

A. *The Teacher*

The academic freedom of the teacher may be abrogated by a number of situations.

Teachers may censor themselves in anticipation of possible negative reactions and avoid study of germane issues which are likely to generate controversy. They may react to attention, criticism or pressures from the community at large or from their peers by becoming timorous. Such subtle withdrawal of the teacher from the battle of ideas is an abdication which diminishes the reality of academic freedom for all teachers.

Whenever opportunities for professional development are granted to some and denied to others in similar circumstances, the basis for decision may involve issues of academic freedom. That academic freedom is indeed the issue in any or all such cases should not be presumed. However, the obligation to scrutinize the procedures used, the basis for the decisions, and the validity of the procedures themselves to see if academic freedom has been breached must not be abdicated by responsible members of the academic community.

Even though an individual teacher may not protest, it is the responsibility of the profession to remain alert to possible infringements upon academic freedom. Loss of academic freedom by one member of the profession diminishes the freedom of all.

Legislative and administrative investigations have a place in our decision making processes when correctly used and when the basic rights of the individual are protected. However, proceedings which call upon the teacher to testify publicly about beliefs and past associations may have a coercive influence. In addition to pressures which may be brought to bear upon individuals, there are actions which endanger the entire academic community. These include legislative and administrative investigations which single out the teaching profession as a special group.

B. *Educational Materials*

The availability of adequate and diversified materials is essential to academic freedom. Selection, exclusion or alteration of materials may infringe upon academic freedom. Official lists of supplementary "materials approved" for classroom use, school library purchases or school book shops may also restrict academic freedom. Actively involving teachers in selection procedures based on written criteria to which all interested persons have access is an essential safeguard.

Because textbooks are the most common resource used in the classroom, there is a continuous struggle to control their selection. In states which use the "approved list" method of textbook selection, the school's freedom of choice is obviously limited. However, even in states which leave textbook selection to local districts, pressures from individuals or special interest groups may circumscribe freedom to teach and to learn.

C. *Curriculum and Content*

Subject matter selection strikes at the very heart of freedom in education. The genius of democracy is willingness to generate wisdom through the consideration of the many different alternatives available. Any pressure which restricts the responsible treatment of issues limits the exercise of academic freedom. Similarly, the mandating of curriculum or content by legislative action or legally established agencies presents a potential threat to academic freedom. When such mandates are based on the prevailing political temper, parochial attitudes or the passions of a specific point in time, they are especially dangerous.

D. *Visiting Speakers*

Visiting speakers, a valuable supplement to regular school programs, may be of specific persuasion and their topic may be controversial in nature. If they are prohibited from speaking because of their point of view, academic freedom is endangered. The process of selecting speakers, like that of evaluating other educational resources, should involve the participation of teachers.

V. *How Academic Freedom Can Be Preserved*

If the public is adequately involved in and informed about the operation of the schools, their objectives and procedures, strong support for academic freedom can be maintained. Teachers must, therefore, establish and utilize clear lines of communication with their students, and community and the media. When, however, the media serve as vehicles for attacks on academic freedom, the academic community should respond.

Academic freedom, like the freedoms of speech, press and religion, is not absolute. Although educators have the primary responsibility for the teaching and learning process, they are not the only members of the community interested in or responsible for quality education. All criticism of schools is not necessarily unfair, undemocratic or an attack upon academic freedom. Attempts to influence policy decisions as to what and how students learn and what and how they are taught are legitimate. These attempts must not, however, infringe upon the rights of others nor preempt the professional responsibilities of the teacher.

Many issues can be resolved by informal procedures. However, academic freedom,, like all other freedoms, is safeguarded by established, orderly and fair procedures for the resolution of disputes. It is fundamental that all charges must be substantiated and that the burden of proof rests upon the accuser. The accused must be informed of all charges and evidence against him and be given full opportunity to respond. Non-tenured teachers and student teachers should be given the same considerations as are their established colleagues when questions concerning academic freedom are raised.

When academic freedom is threatened, local support should be sought. Citizens in the community and local organizations or affiliates of national organizations have the primary interest and responsibility for protecting education in their communities. The PTA, local law schools, local and state colleges and universities and the state departments of education are among the sources of local support. Furthermore, when an issue of academic freedom arises, securing legal or competent extra-legal advice is an essential step in guarding against a possibly unfair resolution of the problem.

If local support is ineffective or inadequate, assistance from national sources should be sought. There are many national organizations that are interested in preserving academic freedom as well as in improving the quality of the schools. In addition to the National Council for the Social Studies, they include:

1. American Association of School Librarians
2. American Association of University Professors
3. American Bar Association
4. American Civil Liberties Union
5. American Federation of Teachers
6. American Historical Association
7. American Library Association
8. National Council of Teachers of English
9. National Education Association

These suggestions are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to indicate that a person under attack is not alone and that there are sources available from which assistance may be obtained.

Academic freedom is neither easily defined nor can it always be protected. Documents such as this, while valuable as a guideline, do not presume to constitute sufficient guarantees. Only continuing concern, commitment and action by teachers, administrators, school boards, professional organizations, students, and the citizenry can insure the reality of academic freedom in a changing society.

PREPARED BY THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES[*]

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[*] Years of service on the Academic Freedom Committee are indicated following the name of each committee member.

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